

THE MILITANT

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INSIDE

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

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Birth of new S. Africa: a victory for humanity

Millions celebrate resounding vote for ANC

BY GREG ROSENBERG

DURBAN, South Africa — Millions of working people throughout this country took to the streets to rejoice in the resounding victory of the African National Congress in South Africa's elections. It was a double celebration. For the first time in the country's history nonracial, one-person one-vote elections had been successfully held. The outcome of the vote was the icing on the cake.

"To the people of South Africa and the world who are watching, this is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit," said ANC president Nelson Mandela during a victory speech in Johannesburg May 2. "This is your victory too. You helped end apartheid," said the president-elect of South Africa.

Mandela pointed to the vast social and economic challenges facing working peo-

Full text of Mandela's victory speech — page 8

ple in the democratic revolution, such as housing, employment, and education. "This is going to be the acid test for the Government of National Unity. We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the program which is contained in the Reconstruction and Development program" of the ANC, said Mandela. "If there are attempts on the part of anybody to undermine that program, there will be serious tensions in the Government of National Unity," he warned.

Immediately following Mandela's speech, which was televised live, millions poured into the streets to savor the moment from one end of South Africa to the other.

In this Indian Ocean port city, a spontaneous victory march began as thousands of youth from the outlying townships streamed into town by whatever means available. From 10:00 p.m. into the wee hours of the morning, the march, which grew to some 5,000 people danced the toyi-toyi through some six miles of streets in the city. Joined by a number of Indian and white youth, the boisterous but disciplined celebrants sang and chanted the whole way.

At one point, a police Internal Stability Unit armored personnel carrier blocked the marchers' path. After some discussion with

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Militant/Patricia O'Beirne

Thousands poured into the streets May 2 to rejoice outcome of the first-ever nonracial elections. Above, celebration in the streets of central Johannesburg. "To the people of South Africa and the world who are watching, this is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit," Nelson Mandela said. "This is your victory too. You helped end apartheid."

Teamsters push back trucking bosses

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — The nationwide Teamsters strike "set a precedent for a lot of people to stand up to the corporations," said Harold Pegues, a driver for Consolidated Freightways (CF) in Minnesota.

Many workers across the country are discussing the impact of the 24-day strike by 70,000 Teamsters-organized drivers, dock workers, and office workers, which forced the bosses to back off their demand to use part-time workers for up to 24 percent of the work done in their freight terminals. The employers wanted to pay these part-timers only \$9 an hour, barely half the regular union wage, with no benefits at all for the first year of employment.

"I feel good about the outcome because it means no part-timers," said CF driver Gil Martinez in Los Angeles. "I felt good being on strike. The unity was there. We knew we were there for a cause."

On April 29 Teamster officials voted to suspend the strike after reaching a tentative agreement with the employers. It will be presented to union members for vote by mail ballot later this month.

The union has not yet officially presented details of the proposed settlement, but according to news reports the four-year contract would increase hourly wages by \$1.35 over the life of the agreement. In addition the amount companies pay for health and pension benefits would go up by \$1.85 per hour.

The proposal does contain concessions to the trucking bosses. It allows expanded use of "casuals" — workers without a regular schedule who work only when the company needs them. Unlike the proposed part-timers they receive union health-care benefits and are currently paid 85 percent of the full union \$17 hourly wage. Under the new agreement companies will be able to use casuals in place of full-time workers after the latter work 40 hours in a week, a move to cut overtime payments.

In addition, hourly wages for casuals will be frozen for the duration of the contract, widening the gap between their income and that of full-time workers. New

Continued on Page 15

3,000 march against Clinton's Haiti policy

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The chants rang out as up to 3,000 Haitian protesters and supporters marched from the Capitol to the White House here April 30. "Bill Clinton liar," "Bill Clinton keep your promise," and "No Aristide No Peace," they shouted. Demonstrators demanded an end to Washington's policy of forcibly returning to their country Haitian refugees fleeing military repression.

The militancy of the crowd was best expressed when it reached the corner of Constitution Avenue and 15th Street. Three Washington, D.C., police on horseback blocked the road and told the protesters they could not turn onto 15th Street but had to continue down Constitution. The marchers shouted no and moved forward, pushing against the horses and forcing them back. The cops tried to hold their ground but gave up within 30 seconds as they lost control of their mounts who were swept up by the surging crowd.

Several marchers explained that the police had already changed their agreed upon route and they wanted to make sure they wouldn't be diverted from going to protest in front of the White House.

Participants came to the protest from the area and many cities throughout the United States and Canada, especially from the Northeast. Two buses came from Miami. Many more buses and cars came from New

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Workers in Paraguay hold one-day general strike

BY SARA LOBMAN

Eighty-five percent of working people in Paraguay participated in a 24-hour general strike May 2. This was the first general strike in Paraguay in 35 years. The workers were demanding a 40 percent wage increase, a halt to the government privatization program, and the suspension of trade accords with the governments of Brazil and Argentina.

The strike also supported peasant demands for land reform and government financial support to compensate for falling cotton prices.

The work stoppage was called by the three main trade unions, the United Workers Federation (CUT), the National Workers Federation (CNT), and the Paraguayan Workers Federation (CPT). It was supported by the union of journalists and by several opposition parties.

During the strike protesters blocked roads throughout the country and demonstrated in the capital city of Asunción. The government ordered the army out, but transport workers were able to stop bus service, forcing shops and offices to close.

Police shot and killed Sebastián Larrosa, an 18-year-old peasant leader, and injured two other peasants and a journalist for the daily *ABC Color*. There have been reports of other injuries as well. Most clashes were reported in Tacuara, San Pedro, more than 200 miles north of Asunción.

Nation of Islam meeting sparks debate on racism — page 17



Students protest in New Zealand

About 10,000 students marched in Auckland, New Zealand, April 21 to protest government proposals to increase tuition fees. The march was part of a national day of action by students in six cities. Placards and banners demanded "Free education for all!" and "No fee rise!"

Demonstrators came from all university, polytechnic, and teacher training college campuses throughout Auckland. Groups of high school students also participated. A government advisory committee is considering proposals to make students pay up to 70 percent of course costs. At present, students pay around 13 percent.

Top U.S. military official visits New Zealand

Admiral Charles Larson, commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces in the Pacific and Indian oceans, paid a highly political visit to New Zealand in mid-April. In a speech at the Institute of International Affairs in Wellington, he stated bluntly that the government in New Zealand needs a strong military alliance with Washington. He also called for slowing down cuts in the country's military budget.

The visit followed the quiet decision by the Clinton administration earlier this year to restore top-level diplomatic consultation with Wellington. The Reagan and Bush administrations had withheld this since 1986, in response to a New Zealand government ban on visits by nuclear-armed warships. The ban directly affected the U.S. Navy's moves in the world. Larson suggested that Wellington should put an end to the "nuclear impasse" between the two countries by allowing U.S. nuclear vessels in its ports once again.

Labor disputes grow in China

The Chinese government acknowledged that labor disputes increased sharply last year, as the government reduced workers' pay, increased layoffs, and put employees on short-term contracts. The Labor Ministry said 12,358 disputes went to arbitration in 1993, up 52 percent from 1992. A number of these conflicts resulted in work slowdowns and strikes. The government found jobs for only 1.2 million of the 5.4 million workers laid off last year. These figures do not include rural residents. According to some estimates, 100 million peasants are out of work.



Hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing Rwanda cross border into Tanzania

Work stoppage in Bangladesh

At the end of April, workers in Bangladesh conducted their second general strike in the past month, shutting businesses in many cities. Protesters demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia, whose government has been accused of vote fraud in by-elections in March.

500,000 workers strike in Poland

Nearly 500,000 mining and factory workers in Poland walked off their jobs nationwide April 28 in a one-day strike organized by the Solidarity trade union. Workers struck at 100 state-owned firms, including 19 coal mines, making it the biggest action since a coalition government assumed office last November. Miners had begun a strike nine days earlier, idling power plants and forcing electricity cuts.

Officials of the Solidarity trade union, which has about 2 million members, de-

mands that wage controls be replaced by a system of collective bargaining. Growing opposition by workers to the government's privatization plans for industry triggered the latest round of strikes.

Yemen army units clash

Hundreds of Yemeni soldiers were killed or wounded in fierce clashes between units from the northern and southern parts of the country at a joint military camp near the capital, San'a, April 27-28. The fighting was the latest in a series of military confrontations that began in February between troops loyal to President Ali Abdullah Saleh of the north and vice president Ali Salem al-Beidh of the south. The battles threaten to unravel a nearly four-year union of the former countries of North Yemen and South Yemen. Despite a unification agreement, the armies of these two countries have not been completely merged.

Israeli warplanes bomb Lebanon

On April 27 Israeli warplanes bombed areas in southern Lebanon that Tel Aviv claims are inhabited by the Party of God guerrilla group. The rocket fire was supposedly in response to a mortar attack on Israel's self-declared "security zone" it controls in southern Lebanon.

Meanwhile, negotiators from the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization signed an agreement setting the terms for future economic relations between Israel and the areas of the occupied territories being granted self-rule. Under the agreement, Palestinians in the West Bank town of Jericho and the Gaza Strip will be able to open their own banks, collect taxes, and conduct export-

ing and importing. The accord, however, stops short of allowing Palestinians to have their own currency.

Rwanda refugees flee to Tanzania

More than 250,000 refugees seeking to escape the carnage in Rwanda crossed into Tanzania within a 24-hour period April 28-29. "This is a major humanitarian disaster," stated Sheila Wilson of the International Committee of the Red Cross. "We expect the number to swell to 500,000." Fighting erupted after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed when their plane was hit by gunfire April 6. Since then, more than 100,000 people are estimated to have been killed and 1.3 million forced from their homes. In Kigali, the country's capital, government troops and supporters of the opposition Rwandan Patriotic Front continue to exchange mortar and artillery fire.

U.S. economy still expanding

The Commerce Department reported the U.S. economy grew at a 2.6 percent annual rate in the first quarter of 1994. The growth was slower than the 7 percent fourth-quarter pace in 1993. Some economists predict continued moderate growth — in the 3 percent range — for the rest of the year. Much of the first-quarter growth was the result of a buildup in inventories. Stockpiles added \$22 billion to growth, compared with \$2 billion the quarter before. Investment in capital equipment continued at a rapid pace, rising at a 15.1 percent rate in the first quarter, compared with a rate of more than 25 percent in the last three months of 1993.

11-year term for shooting doctor

A woman who fired shots at a doctor outside his abortion clinic in Wichita, Kansas, was sentenced April 26 to nearly 11 years in prison. Rachelle Shannon was convicted March 25 of attempted first-degree murder in the attack on Dr. George Tiller. The doctor was shot in both arms as he left his clinic August 19. The wounds were minor, and he returned to work the next day.

Workers march in Bolivia

Police fired tear gas at teachers and other state workers in Bolivia April 28 as they prepared to march through the capital in support of a nationwide general strike. The strike, called two weeks earlier by the Bolivian Workers Confederation, has shut down public schools, state health facilities, many mines, and state universities.

Workers are demanding higher wages. There have been almost daily clashes in La Paz between police and the workers. The cops have taken over the teachers' union headquarters. Workers in Bolivia, South America's poorest country, earn a minimum monthly wage of \$35. The union wants more than the 8 percent wage increase offered by the government. —BRIAN WILLIAMS

Michael Tucker, reporting from Auckland, New Zealand, contributed to this week's column.

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Yugoslavia war spurs debate in Sweden

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM — Late last year the Swedish government sent 850 troops to the former Yugoslavia. They have been deployed in Bosnia and Macedonia. A special law was adopted that grants the troops the right to fire arms even when their lives are not in danger. This was the first time Stockholm sent combat units abroad since the war in the Congo (now Zaire) in the 1960s. The deployment of troops and a flood of refugees from the former Yugoslav republic to Sweden has stirred a public debate among capitalist politicians here. More than 100,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia have come to Sweden since the war began there in 1991. This includes 60,000 Albanians from Kosovo, a formerly autonomous area in southern Serbia, and more than 40,000 refugees from Bosnia.

Last summer, all refugees from Bosnia who had already entered the country were granted permits to stay in Sweden. At the same time, all Bosnians arriving after June 1, 1993, needed visas. That decision has drastically reduced the number of refugees coming from the embattled former Yugoslav republic. Conditions in Bosnia have made it nearly impossible for refugees to cross into Croatia where they could apply for a visa at the Swedish embassy.

In addition, the mayor of the Bosnian town of Tuzla recently visited Sweden and embarked on a mission to cajole the male refugees who are fit for military service to return and join the Bosnian army. The mayor threatened the refugees with reprisals if they refused. At the same time, male refugees from areas in Bosnia controlled by rightist Serb forces have been denied asylum when arguing that they fled after being forced into Radovan Karadzic's army. It has become obvious that the government's policy toward the refugees is absurd and it has come under pressure.

On April 14, Stockholm decided to grant permits to all refugees who are children, or families with children, and who had arrived before January 1993. This will affect some 20,000 Albanians from Kosovo. The decision, aimed at easing some of the pressure on the government, came after a public debate focused on the situation of asylum seekers. A recent investigation by a government-appointed commission concluded that Stockholm's asylum policy had become more restrictive.

But the decision on the refugees from the former Yugoslavia was questioned by the conservative daily *Svenska Dagbladet* in an editorial April 15, which argued demagogically that there are refugees from Serbian-controlled areas that have better reasons to get permits than the children. The editorial pointed to those who are fleeing forced enlistment into Karadzic's army and are now in hiding in Sweden.

This winter, the Swedish government got a new request from the United Nations to contribute more troops to UN forces in Bosnia. After Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas paid a visit to the troops in Bosnia and Macedonia, the government offered the UN to move its 150 soldiers stationed in Macedonia to Bosnia. This happened at the same time as some of the Swedish troops stationed in Tuzla were to be moved to Sarajevo to be part of monitoring the heavy weapons of Serb forces there. On several occasions, Swedish troops had come under gunfire there.

"It's a miracle that no one has been killed yet," exclaimed *Dagbladet* in an editorial April 16. To date, 130 of 155 Swedish troops in Macedonia have agreed to move to Sarajevo, which is voluntary. But statements from family members opposing the redeployment have begun to appear in the press. On April 20, Thore Wiberg, the father of one of the soldiers in Macedonia, told *Dagbladet*

that he and his wife, who are conservatives, will now leave the ruling conservative party. The main reason he gave was the government's complacency with demands from the United Nations and Washington. "Those who had said yes to Macedonia shouldn't have been persuaded to say yes to the much more dangerous Bosnia," he said.

"It is the government that will bear the responsibility if a big number of Swedish soldiers are killed in 1994, which is an election year and the year of the referendum on joining the European Community," said an editorial in *Dagbladet*. "The reactions by the soldiers' families are an indication of the mood." The editorial went on to criticize U.S. policy in Yugoslavia. "It was the United States that wanted the Swedish soldiers moved and replaced by U.S.-soldiers. At the same time it is the United States that is blocking a forceful expansion of ground troops in Bosnia." But neither the conservatives, liberals, nor the social democrats have any alternative to the pouring of Swedish troops into Bosnia after U.S. requests. Stockholm has increasingly tied its foreign policy to that of Washington. So, it has to follow suit in the Bosnia war.

"What's at odds is whether the Swedish imperialists can show the big powers that they can be counted on in a more and more unstable and warlike Europe," said an election campaign statement by the Communist

League. "Unlike what Foreign Minister af Ugglas and other hypocrites within the Swedish ruling class claim, the troops in Bosnia are not there to end the war and the suffering it has brought on the people there."

"To the contrary, the Swedish troops — like all other imperialist troops — are deepening the war to serve the interests of the big powers and are jeopardizing the welfare of workers, farmers, and youth in all parts of the former Yugoslavia. What reveals this hypocrisy," the statement continued, "is that those who really want and try to put an end to the war — the people who live there and who don't have any interest in the carnage, those who refuse to join the Serbian army in Kosovo or other areas dominated by Belgrade — are denied a permit to stay in Sweden and are sent back in the tens of thousands. At the same time, those who try to flee from the horrors of the war in Bosnia need a visa to enter Sweden."

"The Swedish troops are actually used to hinder people from fleeing Bosnia," the statement said. Communist League candidates are campaigning for bringing the Swedish troops home and for opening the border to all refugees from the former Yugoslavia. "That would give the refugees breathing space in the struggle against the war and strengthen solidarity between them and working people in Sweden," their statement concluded.

UN troops clash with rightist Serb army

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

United Nations troops clashed with rightist Serb forces in Bosnia that are openly violating the NATO ultimatum ordering them to withdraw from the city of Gorazde.

Two Danish tank platoons pounded positions of the Belgrade-supported army with 72 shells near Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia April 29, killing nine Serb soldiers and wounding five. The incident was one of the worst clashes on the ground between UN forces in Bosnia and Radovan Karadzic's troops since fighting began in the former Yugoslav republic two years ago. UN officials said there were no casualties among the Danish soldiers, but added that rightist Serb forces had warned that they would "get even."

The same day British troops fired on Karadzic's troops in Gorazde, killing three and wounding five soldiers. According to the NATO ultimatum, air strikes could begin after April 27 unless all of Karadzic's forces withdrew 1.9 miles from that town's center and their heavy weaponry was pulled back at least 12 miles.

However, Serb soldiers aided by Belgrade continue to occupy Zupcici, a hamlet inside the exclusion zone. They claim to be guarding some 200 Serbian civilians who were being encouraged to resettle there. A number of houses in areas north and south of the center of Gorazde did belong mainly to Serb families before the war. But they were driven out by Bosnian government troops in late 1992 after an offensive by Karadzic's troops in other towns in eastern Bosnia led to the killing and eviction of large numbers of Muslims.

UN officials also report that Serb forces have moved at least 15 of their heavy weapons, including three to five tanks, into areas around Gorazde, in direct violation of the NATO ultimatum. The officials insist that air strikes are not being planned. Instead, negotiations are taking place in hopes of getting these guns moved back or placed under UN control.

Leading UN officials, who prefer to remain anonymous, said April 29 that Washington was partly to blame for the continuation of fighting in Bosnia because it has given the



UN troops on patrol near Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia

New Zealand rulers debate intervention in Bosnia war

BY PATRICK BROWN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — The assault by Serbian rightist forces on the so-called safe haven of Gorazde has prompted discussion among New Zealand's capitalist politicians of their armed forces' involvement in the United Nations Yugoslavia force.

Leading the charge for greater military involvement is David Lange, the opposition social democratic Labour Party's spokesman on foreign affairs and former prime minister from 1984 to 1989.

Lange attacked UN inaction at Gorazde in scathing terms. The city's status as a UN safe haven was luring people there, "the more efficiently to facilitate genocide," he told the *Wellington Dominion* on April 21.

He criticized New Zealand's chairing in April of the UN Security Council, of which it is a temporary member. The New Zealand government should have used its position to "at least call for the action that was promised to secure the safety of the thousands of Muslims in the 'safe area' of Gorazde," he said.

"New Zealand has cravenly capitulated to the decision of the United States and European countries to let them be slaughtered," Lange charged.

Don McKinnon, minister of foreign affairs in the National Party government, attacked Lange for "intemperate and headline-grabbing remarks from the comfort of his armchair."

Following this exchange, the United Nations requested 10,000 more troops from member states for the former Yugoslavia. At present nine New Zealand soldiers are stationed in Bosnia.

The leaders of the National and Labour parties, the two largest parliamentary par-

ties, chose ANZAC Day on April 25, which commemorates New Zealand armed forces' involvement in the two world wars, to indicate "bipartisan support for sending more New Zealand troops to Bosnia," according to the April 26 *Christchurch Press*.

The *Press* summarized Prime Minister Jim Bolger's position. "A difficult decision was involved in committing more troops, but New Zealand could not ignore events," he said.

On an earlier occasion, Bolger had stated that New Zealand's contribution would be "modest" and warned that some troops would not return alive. He declared support for renewed air strikes against the Serbs, according to news reports.

Helen Clark, a central leader of the Labour Party, told an ANZAC ceremony in her electorate, "The UN has two choices: not to declare safe areas at all and stand by while defenseless men, women, and children are killed, or to move to uphold its guarantees."

The previous week she had stated, "I have no qualms with New Zealand making an appropriate contribution, based on the supply of military skills which we have at our disposal and which fits in with the UN's needs in Bosnia."

Jim Anderton, the leader of the Alliance Party and popular choice in opinion polls for prime minister, said that more effective sanctions were needed immediately to prevent the continued supply of heavy arms and oil to Bosnian Serbs.

He said Parliament should be recalled to discuss the issue before any decision was made to send forces.

"Some New Zealanders might come back in body bags," stated Anderton.

Patrick Brown is a member of the Engineers Union in Christchurch, New Zealand.

regime of Alija Izetbegovic the false impression that U.S. military support was on the way.

The following day, Madeleine Albright, chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, presented a letter to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali protesting "in the strongest possible terms" comments made by UN military and civilian officials in Sarajevo that U.S. air strikes might prolong the war.

Meanwhile, fighting between Bosnian government and Karadzic's forces has been reported in the northern Bosnia town of Brcko, located in a strategic corridor linking Belgrade with territory under Serb army control in Bosnia and Croatia.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Truth about Yugoslavia

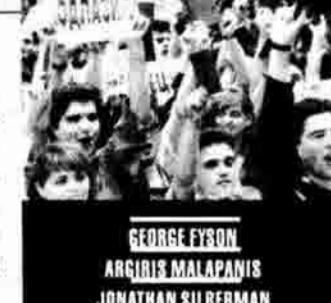
Why working people should oppose intervention

GEORGE FYSON, ARGIRIS MALAPANIS, and JONATHAN SILBERMAN

The carnage in Yugoslavia is the product of the crisis of the depression-ridden world capitalist system. Rival gangs of would-be capitalists — fragments of the former Yugoslav Stalinist regime — are fighting a war for territory and resources. Far from displaying any humanitarian concern, the U.S. and European powers are intervening militarily to advance their competing interests. \$8.95

THE TRUTH ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA

Why working people should oppose intervention



GEORGE FYSON
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Let's fight to meet goals on time!

BY NAOMI CRAINE

As we go to press, hundreds of *Militant* readers around the globe are gearing up for a special target-week effort to complete the international circulation drive. Supporters aim to win 3,000 new subscribers to the socialist newsweekly and 650 to its sister Spanish-language publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as sell 1,800 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* by the May 15 deadline.

While the international drive is about a week behind schedule, experiences in many areas demonstrate that there is a lot of interest in reading a working-class perspective on world politics. This issue of the *Militant*, featuring the introduction to the new edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, is especially valuable to get into the hands of workers and fighting youth.

Distributors in Cleveland, which is considerably behind schedule, are mapping ambitious plans to meet their sales goals by the May 15 deadline, according to a note from *Militant* supporter Mike Fitzsimmons. They are building the May 7 labor solidarity rally in Peoria, Illinois. Many plan to attend the event, including union activists and members of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

Besides selling new subscriptions, they are getting back to subscribers to renew and read *New International*. One subscriber, a 21-year-old veteran of the Gulf War who is working in a hotel and going to college, renewed for six months and bought issue no. 7 of *New International*, which features the article "Opening Guns of World War

III — Washington's assault on Iraq."

Annette Kouri writes that *Militant* supporters from Montreal "have been up to Quebec City three times in the last two weeks. Eight *Militant* subscriptions were sold and two readers each bought all four issues of *Nouvelle Internationale* to complement their *Militant* subs."

They are getting a good response among unionists as well. "More than 300 members of the United Steelworkers of America District 6 met in Ottawa recently," says Kouri. "One of the delegates decided to take advantage of the trial offer because of the coverage on South Africa. He had just returned from there along with two other steelworkers."

Three other unionists subscribed at the national convention of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, one of the largest unions in the country. One new reader there took advantage of a special offer for a *Militant* subscription and copy of the book *The Eastern Airlines Strike: Accomplishments of the*

rank-and-file Machinists.

Militant distributors from Miami, New York, and Washington, D.C., report brisk sales at the April 30 march on Washington by 3,000 Haitian rights activists. Sales included eight *Militant* subscriptions and a dozen copies of *New International* in French and English.

Several supporters from areas that are on or ahead of schedule have volunteered to go to other cities to help win new subscribers there. Ellen Haywood from Atlanta will be coming to the New York area for several days during the last week of the drive. And distributors from Houston are planning to send one or two people to the Cleveland area. Anybody else who wishes to help in other cities should contact the *Militant* business office at the address and telephone number listed on page 2.

We encourage all readers to step up their sales efforts over the next week. With a final all-out push, we can successfully complete the international circulation drive.



Selling *Militant* at Georgia State University in Atlanta

Militant/Linda Joyce

WHERE WE STAND end of week eight

69% SOLD 2,062 80% SHOULD BE 2,400

	THE MILITANT SOLD/GOAL	%	PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL SOLD/GOAL	NEW INTERNATIONAL SOLD/GOAL			
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	79	85	93%	5	6	36	40
Christchurch	37	45	82%	1	2	16	20
N.Z. Total	116	130	89%	6	8	52	60
SWEDEN	34	40	85%	21	18	24	30
AUSTRALIA	20	25	80%	7	8	21	27
ICELAND	9	12	75%	0	1	0	6
CANADA							
Vancouver	67	75	89%	11	10	29	45
Toronto	59	80	74%	16	15	46	40
Montreal	45	75	60%	20	20	50	70
Canada Total	171	230	74%	47	45	125	155
BRITAIN							
Manchester	45	50	90%	0	5	22	30
London	41	60	68%	0	2	22	40
Sheffield	20	35	57%	1	2	19	20
Britain Total	106	145	73%	1	4	63	90
GREECE	7	10	70%	0	1	6	5
BELGIUM	2	3	67%	2	4	2	5
UNITED STATES							
Albuquerque, NM	7	5	140%	2	1	1	3
Albany, NY	5	5	100%	1	1	0	4
Greensboro, NC	47	50	94%	2	5	15	22
Houston	58	65	89%	1	12	20	27
New Haven, CT	13	15	87%	2	3	8	10
Detroit	74	90	82%	4	10	25	40
Atlanta*	73	90	81%	11	13	24	35
Miami	97	120	81%	34	50	84	105
Salt Lake City, UT	69	90	77%	8	15	23	55
San Francisco	103	135	76%	34	40	79	105
Boston	86	120	72%	26	40	35	80
Washington, D.C.	53	75	71%	24	25	44	40
St. Louis	49	70	70%	5	8	24	35
Philadelphia	80	115	70%	20	30	63	65
Los Angeles	139	200	70%	62	95	70	90
Chicago	88	130	68%	21	30	64	75
Seattle	49	75	65%	6	12	31	35
Twin Cities, MN	72	110	65%	11	17	46	65
Birmingham, AL*	52	82	63%	2	5	23	35
Des Moines, IA	50	80	63%	17	35	31	55
New York	76	135	56%	14	35	86	110
Pittsburgh	54	100	54%	10	10	26	40
Cincinnati, OH	8	15	58%	3	2	5	8
Edinboro, PA	5	10	50%	1	0	0	3
Newark, NJ	63	130	48%	12	35	34	75
Morgantown, WV	23	50	46%	0	2	17	30
Cleveland	38	85	45%	5	10	20	30
Brooklyn	55	130	42%	21	35	68	110
Denver	4	10	40%	2	2	3	3
Portland, OR	1	6	17%	0	0	0	2
U.S. Total	1,591	2,393	67%	361	578	969	1,392
GERMANY	4	10	40%	1	4	18	25
FRANCE	2	10	20%	4	2	2	12
PUERTO RICO	0	2	0%	5	8	7	12
TOTAL	2,062	3,010	69%	455	681	1,289	1,819
SHOULD BE	2,400	3,000	80%	520	650	1,440	1,800
* raised goal							

IN THE UNIONS

NEW ZEALAND							
UFBGWU	5	6	83%	0	—	2	1
EU	6	9	67%	1	—	1	2
MWU	1	4	25%	0	2	1	2
N.Z. Total	12	19	63%	1	—	4	5
UNITED STATES							
ILGWU	13	12	108%	10	24	2	8
ACTWU	17	23	74%	7	8	3	10
UTU	51	72	71%	3	3	2	22
IAM	54	80	68%	4	15	5	25
OCAW	46	70	66%	0	5	8	25
UMWA	11	20	55%	0	—	0	—
USWA	34	70	49%	2	8	6	21
UAW	58	125	46%	8	10	14	30
UFCW	16	35	46%	11	20	3	15
U.S. Total	300	507	59%	45	93	43	156
CANADA							
CAW	6	9	67%	4	5	4	4
IAM	12	19	63%	3	2	2	6
ACTWU	2	4	50%	1	2	0	2
USWA	4	11	36%	1	2	5	10
Canada Total	24	43	56%	9	11	11	22
SWEDEN							
Food workers	2	3	67%	1	—	1	2
Metal workers	0	1	0%	1	2	1	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
Sweden Total	2	6	33%	2	2	2	5
AUSTRALIA							
AMEU	0	4	0%	0	—	1	3
FPU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
NUW	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
Australia Total	0	8	0%	0	—	1	6
BRITAIN							
TGWU	5	7	71%	0	—	1	—
AEEU	1	—	—	0	—	0	—
NUM	1	—	—	0	—	0	—
RMT	17	—	—	1	—	1	—
Britain Total	24	—	—	1	—	2	—

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union

New International Fund off to a running start

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Readers of *New International* from the United States and eight other countries have gotten off to a good start in the campaign to raise \$100,000 for the 1994 New International Fund. As we enter the third week of the drive, goals taken in 32 cities total \$100,525, \$525 more than the international target.

In New York, fund supporters are building a special public meeting for Saturday, May 21. Martin Koppel, editor of *Nueva Internacional* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, will speak on "The Rise and Decline of the Nicaraguan Revolution." Material documenting the conquests of the 1979 revolution, which established a workers and farmers government in Nicaragua and gave an impulse to revolutionary struggles throughout the region, as well as its ultimate demise a decade later has been pulled together in *New International* no. 9. Koppel and a team of volunteers are working to make these documents available in Spanish in *Nueva Internacional* no. 3.

Carl-Erik Isaacson, a member of the editorial board of *New International* who lives in Stockholm, Sweden, reports that Swedish supporters of the communist theoretical magazine, in addition to raising funds, have begun the substantial editorial and translation work to produce a second volume of the Swedish-language *Ny International*. The first was produced last September. This issue will focus on the evolution of world politics since the 1987 crash of the world's stock markets and the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"The publication of the inaugural issue of *New International* in Swedish represented a giant victory," Isaacson writes. "At that time Swedish troops were on their way to the war in Bosnia and racist attacks had become frequent in Sweden as the capitalist crisis deepened. Unemployment had reached 10 percent here, and the Swedish rulers had instituted a de facto closure of the borders for legal immigration, even from war-torn areas in the former Yugoslavia.

"The title of *Ny International* no. 1, 'The Opening Guns of World War III,' was what many young workers and students wanted to read to understand what is going on in the world today," Isaacson said. The magazine explains how the U.S. government's blockade, bombardment, and invasion of Iraq in 1990 heralded sharpening conflicts among the imperialist powers, more wars, and the growing instability of international capitalism. So far, more than 100 copies of the Swedish-language magazine have been sold.

"This victory was possible through the work of 20 volunteers who did the translation, proofreading, page-making, film and plate production, printing, and binding of the magazine here in Sweden," Isaacson said. Volunteers in the United States pitched in to produce the high-quality, laminated cover.

"The volunteers in Sweden included union members in breweries, food production, and auto plants, as well as maintenance shops in rail and aerospace, and a few unemployed workers," Isaacson said. "They spent hours on weekends, after work hours, and on vacation days to bring the enormous effort home."

Much of the work was done in the Pathfinder bookshop in Stockholm, where several mobilizations of volunteers turned piles of individual pages into books.

Translating the material for the first issue alone took half a year. Now three volunteers are hard at work translating material for *Ny International* no. 2. Simultaneously, in other parts of the world, volunteers are pulling material together for similar volumes in English, French, and Spanish.

"These articles address so many of the questions that are discussed in politics here in Sweden, such as the worldwide depression, the post-World War II economic boom and the roots of the so-called Swedish model of capitalism, the European Community and the currency question, and the role and military weight of U.S. imperialism in world politics," Isaacson said.

Your contribution to the 1994 New International Fund helps make the production of the magazine in four languages possible.

New International Nouvelle Internationale Nueva Internacional Ny International New International New International Nouvelle Internationale Nueva Internacional New International Nouvelle Internationale Nueva Internacional New International FUND

Goal	Collected	Percent
UNITED STATES		
Philadelphia	\$7,500	3,592
Detroit	3,900	1,450
Des Moines	3,000	1,010
Twin Cities	5,000	737
Chicago	5,250	550
Washington, D.C.	2,800	210
New York	4,750	109
St. Louis	3,000	50
Cleveland	3,000	30
Los Angeles	6,750	20
Salt Lake City	4,000	2
Pittsburgh	3,500	1
Atlanta	3,250	0%
Birmingham	2,500	0%
Boston	4,000	0%
Brooklyn	3,250	0%
Greensboro	2,200	0%
Houston	3,500	0%
Miami	2,700	0%
Morgantown	1,300	0%
New Haven	500	0%
Newark	5,500	0%
San Francisco	8,000	0%
Seattle	4,100	0%
Portland		1,150
Other		285
U.S. Total	93,250	9,196
AUSTRALIA	375	0%
BRITAIN	2,250	0%
Manchester	600	0%
London	1,050	0%
Sheffield	600	0%
CANADA	3,600	35
FRANCE	300	0%
NEW ZEALAND	750	0%
Auckland	500	0%
Christchurch	250	0%
INT'L TOTAL	100,525	9,231
SHOULD BE	100,000	20,000
		20%

Contribute to \$100,000 Fund for Marxist Magazine

New International, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, has launched a \$100,000 fund to print a series of new issues of the journal, which will appear in English, Spanish, French, and Swedish.

The successful completion of this fund, which ends June 28, will enable these important publications to reach thousands of working-class fighters around the globe.

Write check to NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND and send to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

I pledge Enclosed is (check one)

\$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 Other

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ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

TELEPHONE _____

ORGANIZATION (for identification only) _____

'We urge you to grant Mark Curtis parole now'

Unionists and fighters around world demand freedom for framed-up activist

Mark Curtis is a union and political activist who has served more than five years in Iowa state prisons on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has launched a campaign to urge the Iowa State Board of Parole to grant Curtis a hearing and release him. Below are excerpts from a few of these letters.

Sidney Peck Cambridge, Massachusetts

Once again, I write to request that you convene a hearing for the purpose of granting a parole to Mark Curtis.

As an academic with more than 35 years of teaching and research in the field of sociology, I do not make this request lightly. I ask that you grant the parole in the name of justice. Apart from the fact that there are many of us who have read the transcript of his trial and believe that Curtis is innocent of all charges, it should be patently clear that there is no psychiatric issue involved in the decision to parole him.

Please carry out your responsibilities and act to parole Mark Curtis.

Sidney Peck is codirector of RECAP International.

Mehmet Tanriverdi Athens, Greece

Our organization was formed last year by immigrant workers and political refugees here in Greece to campaign for the rights of immigrants in response to racist anti-immigrant legal and extra-legal attacks. It is with this in mind that the case of Mark Curtis bears special attention for us. Curtis, a white worker, had openly defended the 17 Salvadoran and Mexican workers who had been arrested by the immigration police and

slated for deportation. We, like thousands around the world, are convinced that he is not guilty of the crimes he is convicted of. That is why, with the very first issue of our magazine *Without Borders*, we publicly identified with his struggle.

We understand that he has fulfilled all the requirements for eligibility for parole, including the psychiatric evaluation which was requested by you. Furthermore, it is our understanding that his very ability to obtain a parole hearing is the subject of opposition by your board. Such actions only serve to deepen the injustice already committed against Curtis. We respectfully urge you to schedule a parole hearing at the earliest possible date. We also urge you to grant Curtis parole now.

Mehmet Tanriverdi is president of the Refugee Solidarity Movement.

Dennis Knott Stockport, England

The Stockport & District Branch of the National Union of Rail, Maritime & Transport Workers in England asks that Mark Curtis be given parole as a matter of urgency so that he can be at home with his wife where he should have been years ago.

Dennis Knott is Secretary of the Stockport and District branch of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers.

Dimitry Diaz Smith Panama City, Panama

Being very familiar with Mark Curtis's background, and his just struggle for workers demands, higher wages, and his respect for the workers, I have decided to add my name to the cause of parole for Mark Curtis. I ask you to grant this, or to set a hearing date for a worker who, fighting for the future

and well-being of his coworkers, was the victim of false accusations of robbery and sexual abuse.

Dimitry Diaz Smith is a member of the Association of Kunas University Students

Stephen Maupin Oakland, California

I am writing to urge you to release the prisoner Mark Curtis. I have followed his case from the beginning. I am convinced of his innocence. I am a truck driver and a member of Local 70 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I understand that Mark Curtis has served more time than is customary for a person guilty of the charges placed against him. Let us save the taxpayers some money and release Mark Curtis, who is absolutely no

danger to society.

Please parole Mark Curtis now!

Stephen Maupin is a member of Local 70 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Richard Walker Verdun, Quebec

I am hereby requesting that you grant Mr. Mark Curtis the right to a parole hearing.

As is clear to all, you have never given Mr. Curtis the right to be fully heard. Had Mr. Curtis been given a fair trial in the beginning, requesting a parole hearing now would not be necessary.

Richard Walker is president of the Chrysler section of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee

Literature available from the

Who is Mark Curtis? The basic informational flyer on Curtis's fight for justice. Single copies free, including copies that can be used for reproduction. Available in English, Spanish, and French.

The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis. Pamphlet. \$2.

Freedom and Justice for Mark Curtis: An Answer to a Slander Campaign. Pamphlet. \$2.

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis. 49-minute video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. \$15.

For information or to order: Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311.



S. Africa

Continued from front page

march leaders, the police vacated their vehicle, which was quickly adorned with Nelson Mandela posters by young people who climbed on board.

"We have fought and fought for a long time for this day to come," said a jubilant Mpilo Ntompela. "Now we can all be equal here — black or white, it doesn't matter."

Thousands of ANC leaders and activists celebrated with journalists at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, where Mandela delivered his speech. Tens of thousands more danced outside in the streets of the city.

Millions of working people had lined up, waiting long hours and sometimes days to vote with a quiet determination to see the white-minority regime into the grave.

At press time, final results were still not available. South Africa's vote-counting process, organized by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), has been plagued by numerous charges of ballot tampering and a slow tallying mechanism.

Decisive ANC victory

With about 54 percent of the votes counted, the ANC had received 62.5 percent, or about 7,400,000 of ballots cast. Former South African president F.W. de Klerk's National Party had 22.1 percent; Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) 8.3 percent; the Freedom Front 2.7 percent; the Democratic Party 1.7 percent; and the Pan Africanist Congress 1.3 percent.

The parties receiving less than 1 percent of the vote were the Soccer Party, Keep It Straight and Simple Party, Women's Rights Peace Party, Workers' List Party, Ximoko Progressive Party, African Muslim Party, African Christian Democratic Party, African Democratic Movement, Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa, Federal Party, Luso-South Africa Party, and Minority Front Party.

The percentage of votes that will be finally credited to the ANC, National Party, and Inkatha in particular will be important. If the ANC is able to attain a 67 percent majority in the incoming constituent assembly, it will put the democratic movement in a position to hold a decisive vote during deliberations on a new constitution.

As a result of delays in counting the ballots, the opening of the constituent assembly has been postponed until May 9 in Cape Town. The inauguration of president-elect Mandela is still scheduled for May 10 in Pretoria. So far 42 heads of state have confirmed their participation in the inaugural events.

The ANC commands a large majority in voting for seven of nine new provincial legislatures. The National Party won a clear majority in the Western Cape region, with 56 percent of votes cast to the ANC's 24 percent.

Results in KwaZulu-Natal, where only a quarter of the votes were tallied as of press time, put Inkatha ahead with 53 percent to the ANC's 32 percent.

In his speech conceding defeat to the ANC, de Klerk, who will serve as a deputy



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Miners and visiting family members line up to vote at De Beers diamond mine in Cullinan, near Pretoria, April 27.

president in the incoming government, attempted to take the credit for ending apartheid legislation. Since 1990, he said, "we have seen the end of discrimination" in South Africa. "After so many centuries, all South Africans are now free."

De Klerk congratulated Mandela, and said, "I believe that my political task is just beginning." Predicting that in five years time, when the next elections are scheduled, the National Party will be the strongest in the country, de Klerk argued that "the greatest challenge we face in the Government of National Unity will be to defend the new constitution."

The National Party, which had governed South Africa since the institution of the apartheid system in 1948, began to repeal many of the most draconian racist laws in the late 1980s as a result of the rising mass movement led by the ANC. This culminated in 1990, when de Klerk was forced to release Mandela after 27 years in apartheid's jails and unban the ANC and other organizations.

Since that time, the National Party has recast itself as a liberal bourgeois party that is opposed to discrimination and welcomes Blacks into its ranks.

The millions of people who voted for the National Party were not voting for the maintenance of apartheid rule. Instead, those inclined toward this perspective sided with Gen. Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front in the election.

The high vote for the National Party in the Western Cape is a result of its successful cam-

paign to exploit class divisions among Blacks there. The region's population contains a high percentage of people formerly classified as Coloured. Under apartheid, while all Blacks — Africans, Indians, Coloureds — were oppressed, relative privileges were handed out to Coloureds and Indians. This resulted in a larger percentage of Coloureds becoming part of the middle class.

In addition, the National Party convinced large numbers of working people in the Western Cape that the ANC's affirmative action plan would strictly benefit Africans to the detriment of others.

KwaZulu-Natal

In KwaZulu-Natal, election campaign observers reported widespread fraud at the polls.

A statement released by the ANC on April 28 said, "Evidence at hand already indicates the following violations, among others: removal of ballot boxes from polling stations by IFP supporters; transfer of IEC voting material to 'pirate polling stations' run by supporters of the IFP; threats against IEC officers and expulsion of ANC party agents from polling stations; and lack of secrecy in polling booths where voters are coerced into voting for the IFP."

In Impendle, a rural village in the Natal highlands, which was run by the KwaZulu Bantustan administration until recently, residents told stories of attacks and threats by Inkatha supporters living on the other side of the hill.

"Here, if we support the ANC, we are harassed and our children are prevented from going to school," said Muza Ngubane, a 27-year-old teacher. "A week before the elections, the local Inkatha chief told ANC supporters in the area that 'if our children go to school tomorrow [May 2] they will be shot.'

"I want three things from the new government," Ngubane continued. "Free political activity, education for our children, and industries." Very few people in the village hold a job.

Thousands of working people and youth showed up at Durban's exposition center on April 30 to help count ballots. Supporters of the ANC, Inkatha, and other parties milled around for more than 12 hours wanting to help the counting process, which was moving at a snail's pace. They were turned away by the IEC and told to come back the next day.

Sabotage

While the vast majority cast ballots in an election that is likely to be declared "free and fair," there were numerous problems with the process, which culminated in the counting of some 20 million paper ballots by hand.

On the first day of voting, about 15 percent of the 9,000 stations failed to open at all. Problems in six areas led the IEC to allow a fourth day of voting on April 29 in six areas, including KwaZulu-Natal and Transkei.

On April 28, I visited the East Rand townships of Vosloorus, Tokoza, and Katlehong,

where numerous problems were reported. On what was supposed to have been the last day of voting, nearly a thousand people were still in line waiting to receive temporary voter identification cards. By 2:00 p.m., due to a lack of equipment, only 190 cards had been issued. ANC premier-elect of the PWV (Pretoria, Witswatersrand, Vereeniging) region, Tokyo Sexwale, called the affair "cold sabotage."

Despite the hurdles, working people were undeterred. Whether they waited under a baking sun or standing in the mud amidst cold rain, nothing was about to stop people from casting their ballot.

In Ventersdorp, which the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) had declared to be part of a Volkstaat or white minestate, thousands of Blacks showed up outside the town magistrates office despite an AWB threat to disrupt the polls.

Police officials resume duties

Police Commissioner Johan Van Der Merwe ordered two top officials, who were implicated by the Goldstone Commission in gunrunning to Inkatha and organizing a terror network, to return to their duties on May 2. Gen. Johan le Roux and Lieut. Gen. Basie Smit were put on leave March 18 because of the report.

Smit told the *Citizen* newspaper on May 2 that it was good to be back in his office. The following day, his retirement was announced. No reasons were given.

In related developments, the Transitional Executive Council will make a recommendation to the incoming government on the disposition of the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF). After its deployment in the East Rand townships, the NPKF was quickly assigned to "nonaggressive" tasks. Some witnesses said that it was an NPKF member who shot a Johannesburg *Star* photographer in Tokoza last month.

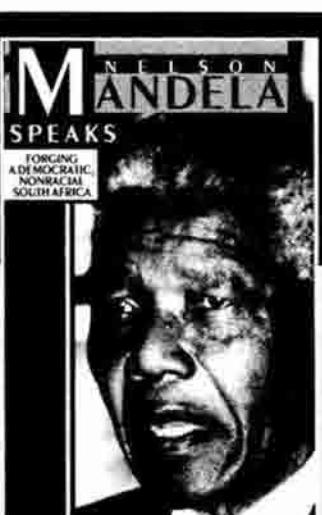
Rural Poor

On May 4, the ANC unveiled its agricultural policy document at a Johannesburg press conference, along with a document entitled "Policy on the Restitution of Land Rights." This document captures in a clear and concrete manner the way the ANC views affirmative action, while advancing a perspective for improvement of agricultural production in the interests of working people.

Overall, it places special emphasis on raising the conditions and standard of living of the rural poor, a majority of whom are women and children. The restitution document begins with the statement, "A land reform process will consist of two elements: restitution for those who were dispossessed by apartheid(s) forced removals, and a process of redistribution of land to deal with land hunger and the unequal distribution of land."

"As a priority," it continues, "the new government will propose to Parliament the enactment of a Land Rights Restitution Act."

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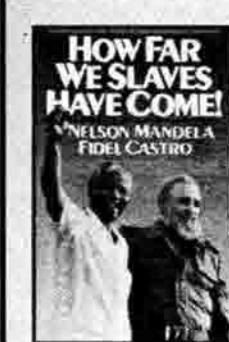


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Dozens of rightists arrested for bombings

BY JAMES WARREN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Less than a week after bombings that killed 21 people and injured 179, South African police have arrested 34 leaders and members of the right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), a small party of white ultrarightists that boycotted the elections. Large quantities of explosives, weapons, and ammunition were seized during the raids April 27 in Rustenburg, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Ventersdorp. Among those arrested are AWB chief of staff Alexander Cruywagen and the group's secretary general Nico Prinsloo, as well as Leon Van Der Merwe, the commander of the AWB's elite paramilitary commando unit. They have been charged with 21 counts of murder and 191 allegations of attempted murder.

There is growing speculation that AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche will also be arrested in connection with the bombings. Speaking to a rally of 200 supporters April 28 near Rustenburg, TerreBlanche said there would be more bombings if the government ignored rightists' demands for an apartheid ministrat. He stated that South Africa was heading for revolution and war but from the chaos would rise a "Third Boer Republic."

TerreBlanche told his supporters that, while the AWB Executive had not given orders for the placement of the bombs, he would give 100 percent support to those arrested for the bombings.

In a frenzy of hatred during the rally, 50 armed members of the AWB attacked *New York Daily News* reporter Michael Allen, who is Black, and several others, chasing them away from the site. No arrests were made.

The same day, seven AWB members shot up a polling station in a village near Brits, in the Northern Transvaal. Residents apprehended, beat, and handed the rightists over to the police. Their car was set on fire.

The AWB dispatched a heavily armed unit to rescue the seven. The unit was stopped by a police roadblock and a shoot-out followed. No injuries or arrests were reported after the incident.

Emergency regulations

Since the arrest of the 34, the South African police announced that 15 towns in the Western Transvaal have been declared unrest areas, and placed under emergency regulations, due to the activities of the right-wingers.

No bombings have occurred since the arrests. But shooting incidents and other acts of intimidation have been reported.

On April 29, 32 of those arrested appeared in court, where they were presented with numerous other charges besides murder and attempted murder. Two of the defendants were absent. One was in the hospital recovering from gunshot wounds and the other is a minor who will be charged in juvenile court.

The prosecution is presenting a conspir-



Site of April 24 bombing in Johannesburg where ANC leader Susan Keane was killed along with eight other people. Thirty-four rightists have since been arrested.

acy case. The defendants are scheduled for a bail hearing May 15.

According to the April 30 *Citizen*, a Johannesburg daily, Nelson Mandela, the president-elect of South Africa, ruled out banning the AWB. "Up to now they've remained a tiny minority and I think it would be giving them too much importance if you banned them," Mandela said. "It is better to deal with organizations like that above ground."

The fact that one of the 34 arrested was an active duty police officer and a second was an army reserve officer has led to continuing speculation about the relationship between the AWB, the South African police, and the South African Defence Forces (SADF).

An April 28 *Business Day* article noted that the bombings caused a rift in the extreme right. "I call them Klipdrift soldiers," the article quoted SADF Sergeant-Major Obie du Plessis saying in reference to the AWB bombings. Du Plessis is also the chairman of the

Freedom Front, in Hoopstad. "They get drunk and then they go around trying to be soldiers. They are fighting a war of cowards and we are not sympathetic to their cause. It is wrong to kill innocent people."

The Freedom Front, led by Gen. Constant Viljoen, is recognized as one of the largest right-wing organizations in the country. The front agreed to participate in the elections. Its leaders state that they are determined to negotiate a separate "homeland" for whites in the new South Africa.

Du Plessis, a capitalist farmer, stated that he would not serve in the SADF under a "Black government," but predicts there will not be an uprising of white farmers if a Black government is elected. He threatened that if the new government tries to disarm white farmers there will be a civil war lasting 10-20 years, "which would make the war in Bosnia look insignificant."

An ongoing debate is taking place here about crimes committed against the South

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An ongoing debate is taking place here about crimes committed against the South

African people by the armed forces in their defense of apartheid. The African National Congress released a statement April 25 on the issue of amnesty for those responsible for these crimes.

Debate on amnesty

"The National Executive Committee of the ANC, on August 29, 1993, called for a full investigation of all the abuses that occurred under the apartheid system, the statement said, pointing out that the National Party (NP) government has never accepted collective or individual responsibility for the abuses of the regime."

"Following the adoption of the Groote Schuur Minute in May 1990, the NP government and the ANC jointly arrived at a formula," the statement continued, "which was translated into legislation, whose terms defined October 8, 1990, as the cutoff date for all acts for which indemnity could be sought. That legislation remains operative."

"Sadly, numerous violations continued after that date," the ANC declaration stated. "Hit squads, assassinations, covert operations, and paramilitary activities that wreaked havoc on our communities escalated. Thousands of people lost their lives, including entire African families. Respected judicial commissions and other official investigative bodies have repeatedly implicated members of the security forces in such crimes."

The ANC has proposed that the question of the indemnity be resolved by the National Assembly. The ongoing threat of rightist terror, the role of members of the police and SADF in these acts, as well as the amnesty demands of the military and cops are seen here as related questions, whose resolution will have an important impact on the progress the new government can make.

In an interview with the *Star*, a Johannesburg daily, Mandela stated, "We have gone further to say Parliament will have a discretion to grant an indemnity to people who have committed crimes between Oct. 8, 1990, and Dec. 6, 1993. We are saying let's forget the past. Let's think in terms of the present and future. [But] what we cannot do is give indemnity to those who after December 1993 have been killing people."

Hundreds honor ANC leader's life

BY PATRICIA O'BEIRNE

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — On April 30, some 400 people attended a funeral and memorial service for Susan Keane, leader of the African National Congress and one of the organization's candidates in the elections. Keane, 37, was the ANC's secretary-general in the Johannesburg subregion and executive board member of the ANC's Johannesburg North

East branch. She was killed April 24 when a bomb exploded in central Johannesburg. Another eight people were killed and 92 injured during the blast.

Paul Mashatile, secretary-general of the ANC Pretoria-Witswatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) region, opened the church service. "We are going to build a country as one people, a country as one nation," he said. "Those who have killed Susan Keane thought that will stop this process. They have failed to do so. Today we have a new constitution, a new flag."

Mashatile continued, "Susan helped pave the road with so many other comrades who have also fallen to ensure that South Africa will be a country of peace, that will have all its people grow in their potential and contribute to the growing economy, get rid of the violence and crime, have education for all of their children, and ensure that this is a country of hope."

Mashatile continued, "Susan helped pave the road with so many other comrades who have also fallen to ensure that South Africa will be a country of peace, that will have all

In his closing remarks, the ANC leader appealed to the new government to "make sure that the criminals and the murderers, those who want to sow destruction, are dealt with harshly because there can be no room for those people in the new South Africa."

Many other leaders of the ANC addressed the service, including Carl Niehaus of the regional executive committee of the ANC PWV region, and Tokyo Sexwale, head of the ANC PWV region. Messages were also received and read from ANC president Nelson Mandela, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, many ANC branches, and numerous companies and individuals.

Following the service, a spirited procession continued to the burial site. Participants sang liberation songs. Members of the ANC Youth League and of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's former military wing, took part.

The Coming Revolution in South Africa

BY JACK BARNES

The world importance of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid system and the vanguard role of the African National Congress, which is committed to lead the national, democratic revolution in South Africa to a successful conclusion. In *New International* no. 5. Also includes "Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola": Three speeches by Fidel Castro. \$9.00

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Utah youth celebrate ANC victory

BY CALVIN JOLLEY AND BRIAN PUGH

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — The Student Anti-Apartheid Coalition (SAAC) at the University of Utah sponsored a week of events to support the first democratic elections in South Africa April 25-28. Members of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee and other young activists jumped into this opportunity to build activities in support of the nonracial vote.

The student group built a shanty in the free speech area of the campus, which was won by students during struggles in 1986 and '87 to demand that universities divest from apartheid South Africa. "The shanty stood on campus from April 25 to 28 to show support for the first democratic elections in South Africa," stated Diana Turner, a member of SAAC. "These elections will signify a step forward for the struggle against racism. It's important that young people mobilize around the struggles of the South African people behind the leadership of the African National Congress," she stated.

SAAC also raised funds to send four South African students to Los Angeles to vote April 26. A news conference was held at the shanty April 25 to announce their departure. "We have been waiting for a day like this for many years. Black people in

South Africa will show we are leaders," said student Ntlogeleng Mogotsi. After the week of solidarity work on campus, a public rally backing the elections was held April 28 at the YWCA. Promoters of the event included the Utah AFL-CIO, United Steelworkers of America locals 2701 and 8319, JEDI Women, the Young Socialists, Food not Bombs, the U.S.-Cuba Friendship, and the Socialist Workers campaign.

Messages of support were read from the unions as well as a recorded message from Buddy Beck, a unionist who is in Johannesburg as an international election observer for the Utah AFL-CIO.

Thabo Mzilikazi, a student and member of the ANC Youth League, addressed the rally. "The elections signify the beginning of our struggle to abolish apartheid," he said. Mzilikazi called for continued solidarity with the revolution in South Africa as the new ANC democratic government mobilizes the people to reverse apartheid conditions.

Events throughout the week received major coverage by all television and newspaper media.

Calvin Jolley and Brian Pugh are members of the Student Anti-Apartheid Coalition. Pugh is also a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

'We are one people with a common destiny'

Nelson Mandela addresses ANC victory rally in Johannesburg, South Africa

Printed below is the text of the speech ANC president Nelson Mandela gave May 2, 1994, at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg celebrating the ANC victory in South Africa's first-ever nonracial elections. The speech was transcribed by the *Militant* from a recording its reporters made on the scene. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

I must apologize. I contracted a cold and I hope my voice will be able to stand up to the pressure this evening.

My doctor, who examined me very early this morning, asked me to rest for today and tomorrow and to do as little talking as possible. And he said if I do that then this cold would clear in two days time. I hope you will not disclose to him that I did not obey his instructions.

Fellow South Africans, the people of South Africa. This is indeed a joyous night. Although not yet final we have received the provisional results of the elections. My friends, I can tell you that we are delighted by the overwhelming support for the African National Congress.

Within the last few hours I have received telephone calls from State President [F.W.] de Klerk, Gen. Constand Viljoen [of the right-wing Freedom Front], Dr. Zach de Beer, [of the Democratic Party] and Mr. Johnson Mlambo, the first deputy-president of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] who pledged their full cooperation and offered their sincere congratulations.

I thank them all for their support and look forward to working together for our beloved country.

I would also like to congratulate President de Klerk for the strong showing the National Party has displayed in this election. I also want to congratulate him for the many days, weeks, months, and the four years that we have worked together, quarreled, addressed the sensitive problems and at the end of our heated exchanges were able to shake hands and to drink coffee.

My congratulations also goes to Dr. Zach de Beer as well as to Gen. Constand Viljoen with whom I have had numerous discussions and whom I regard as worthy South Africans who are going to make a contribution in the Government of National Unity.

I also look forward to having discussions with the leaders of the liberation movement who have not been able to make the [electoral] threshold. [Any party receiving at least 5 percent of the vote is entitled to a seat in the Cabinet.] I will go to my organization because I have got cer-



Nelson Mandela and ANC leader Pallo Jordan at April 26 press conference, Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg. Mandela gave victory speech there a week later.

tain ideas. They have suffered together with us. I was in jail with many of them. We suffered together in the battlefield and it has hurt me a great deal that they should not be able to have made the threshold which other parties have made.

A joyous night for human spirit

To all those in the African National Congress and the democratic movement who worked so hard these last few days and through these many decades I thank you and honor you.

To the people of South Africa and the world who are watching, this is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit.

This is your victory too. You helped end apartheid. You stood with us through the transition. I watched along with you all as the tens of thousands of our people stood patiently in long queues for many hours. Some sleeping on the open ground overnight waiting to cast this momentous vote.

South Africa's heroes are legends across the generations. But it is you, the people, who are our true heroes.

This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. I stand

before you filled with deep pride and joy — pride in the ordinary humble people of this country. You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own. And joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops 'free at last!'

I am your servant. I don't come to you as a leader — as one above others. We are a great team. Leaders come and go, but the organizations and the collective leadership that has looked up at the fortunes and reversals of this organization will always be there.

The ideas I express are not the ideas invented in my own mind. They stem from our fundamental policy document, the Freedom Charter, from the decisions and resolutions of the national conference, and from the decisions of the national executive committee. That is the nature of our organization. It is not the individuals that matter. It is the collective leadership which has led this organization so skillfully.

And I stand before you humbled by your courage, with a heart full of love for all of you. I regard it as the highest honor to lead the ANC at this moment in our history, and that we have chosen to lead our country into the new century.

I pledge to use all my strength and ability to live up to your expectations of me as well as the ANC.

I am personally indebted and pay tribute to some of South Africa's greatest leaders including John Dube, Josiah Gumede, G.M. Naicker, Dr. Abduraman, Chief [Albert] Luthuli, Lillian Ngoyi, Bram Fisher, Helen Joseph, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Chris Hani, and Oliver Tambo.

They should have been here to celebrate with us, for this is their achievement too.

Acid test for new gov't

Tomorrow, the entire ANC leadership and I will be back at our desks. We are rolling up our sleeves to begin tackling the problems our country faces. We ask you all to join us — go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get South Africa working. For we must together and without delay, begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education, and bringing peace and security for all.

This is going to be the acid test for the Government of National Unity.

We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the program which is contained in the Reconstruction and Development Program. There we have outlined the steps that we are going to take in order to ensure a better life for all South Africans.

Almost all the organizations that are going to take part in the Government of National Unity have undertaken in the course of the campaign to contribute to the better life of our people. That is going to be the cornerstone, the foundation upon which the Government of National Unity is going to

be based. And I appeal to all the leaders who are going to serve in this government to honor that program and go there determined to contribute towards its immediate implementation.

If there are attempts on the part of anybody to undermine that program, there will be serious tensions in the Government of National Unity. We are here to honor our promises. If we fail to implement this program, that will be a betrayal of the trust which the people of South Africa have vested in us.

It is a program which was developed by the masses of the people themselves in People's Forums. It has been accepted by state corporations, by government departments, by business academics, by religious leaders, youth movements, women's organizations. And nobody will be entitled to participate in that Government of National Unity to oppose that plan.

But I must add we are not going to make the Government of National Unity an empty shell. We want every political organization that participates in that government to feel that they are part and parcel of a government machine which is capable of accommodating their views within the context of the Reconstruction and Development Program.

We do not want to reduce them into mere rubber stamps to rubber stamp the decision of any organization except to say that program has to be carried out without reservation.

The calm and tolerant atmosphere that prevailed during the election depicts the type of South Africa we can build. It sets the tone for the future. We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny in our rich variety of culture and tradition.

We also commend the security forces for the sterling work done. This has laid a solid foundation for a truly professional security force committed to the service of the people and loyalty to the new constitution.

Celebrate birth of democracy

People have voted for the party of their choice and we respect that. This is democracy. I hold out the hand of friendship to the leaders of all parties and their members, and ask all of them to join us in working together to tackle the problems we face as a nation. An ANC government will serve all the people of South Africa, not just ANC members. We are looking forward to working together in a Government of National Unity.

It is a clear mandate for action to implement a plan to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and guarantee freedom for all South Africans.

Now is the time for celebrations, for South Africans to join together to celebrate the birth of democracy.

Let our celebrations be in keeping with the mood set in the elections, peaceful, respectful, and disciplined, showing we are a people ready to assume the responsibilities of government.

I promise that I will do my best to be worthy of the faith and confidence you have placed in me and my organization, the ANC. Let us build a future together and toast a better life for all South Africans.

Lastly, I just want to say that in some areas we may not have done as well as we hoped. But that is how democracy functions. There should be no tension in any region in which we have not emerged as the majority party.

Let us stretch out our hands to those who have beaten us, and say to them 'We are all South Africans, we have had a good fight but now this is the time to heal the old wounds and to build the new South Africa.'

I also want to say that there are sports teams that were supposed to come to South Africa. They have not done so because of the state of emergency [in KwaZulu-Natal]. I invite all of them to come to South Africa irrespective of the state of emergency. I and the people of South Africa will welcome them with open arms.

SWP leader sends message congratulating Mandela, ANC

Printed below is a message to Nelson Mandela from SWP national secretary Jack Barnes on the occasion of South Africa's first democratic elections and the ANC's victory in the ballot.

May 4, 1994

Nelson Mandela
President, African National Congress
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Comrade Mandela,

The Socialist Workers Party congratulates the people of South Africa on your country's first nonracial, one-person one-vote election and on the victory of the African National Congress. These are two intertwined historic triumphs. They are the fruit of decades of struggle and sacrifice by working people and youth of South Africa led by the ANC, as well as efforts by millions around the world who answered your call to isolate the racist regime.

From the internationalist combatants of Cuba, Angola, Namibia, and South Africa who shed their blood to drive the apartheid army out of southern Angola; to those in countless cities, towns, workplaces, and schools around the globe who

demonstrated their condemnation of the apartheid crime against humanity, the fact of the election and of its outcome is our double common triumph.

The birth of a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic South Africa will inspire those the world over who are engaged in the fight against racism, union busting, women's oppression, capitalist exploitation, and imperialist war threats from Bosnia to the Korean peninsula. Millions will continue to learn from the workers and rural toilers of South Africa, who have also conquered greatly increased political space to press their just fight for land, jobs, housing, a living wage, and social equality.

We in the Socialist Workers Party pledge to stand shoulder to shoulder with the ANC and the people of South Africa in the struggles to come, as you continue the battle — as you and other ANC leaders have said — to "reconstruct South Africa in the vision of the Freedom Charter, as a country that belongs to all its people, black and white."

Fraternally,
s/
Jack Barnes
SWP National Secretary

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-class politics and the trade unions

Printed below is the introduction to the new, expanded edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes. The book will be available for distribution by its publisher, Pathfinder Press, on May 12. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions is above all a handbook for the generations of workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills in the last half of the 1990s, workers who will react to the increasingly uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality that will accompany the arrival of the twenty-first century. It is a handbook for the millions of workers whose class consciousness will grow as resistance to these worsening conditions mounts, and who — before they are through — will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society.

This new edition is also an important guide for all young people who, in growing numbers, are repelled by the racism, women's inequality, and other increasingly intolerable social relations of oppression and exploitation reproduced daily by capitalism on a world scale. It is a book for all fighters who, regardless of their starting point, sense that this worldwide social system, if not replaced, will lead humanity to economic devastation, fascist tyranny, and world war.

This book grows out of the experience of the working class over the last twenty years. It reflects hard-earned lessons drawn from the activity of the organized class-conscious and revolutionary-minded section of that class. Much in these pages was discussed and adopted by conventions and elected leadership meetings of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Workers and youth from around the world participated in these gatherings, contributed their experiences, and put a decisive mark on the decisions taken.

The book attempts above all to show why only the working class — who own no property in large-scale means of production — can inspire their allies and lead humanity out of the social crisis endemic to capitalism in its decline. The pages that follow try to show why the industrial workers and their primary defensive organizations, the trade unions, have the potential to be the most powerful battalions of the working class, and why this is true around the globe.

These perspectives are rooted in some 150 years of communist experience and tradition in working-class politics and the trade unions. The earliest systematic presentation of these conclusions, and in some ways still the best, is entitled "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future," drafted in

1866 by Karl Marx.¹ Based on these historic lessons, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* presents a strategy to fight to transform the unions from the weak, bureaucratically dominated institutions of bourgeois society they became after World War II — institutions less and less capable of defending even the day-to-day interests of union members — into a weighty component of a revolutionary social movement of workers and farmers and their allies.

It is through daily involvement and political work on the job, in the unions, and in movements of social protest that the members of what are as yet relatively small communist leagues such as the Socialist Workers Party in the United States earn the ability to participate effectively in politics — from shop-floor skirmishes, strikes, and street demonstrations today, to the much wider class battles and explosive proletarian-led struggles of tomorrow. Out of these battles, as part of growing international class conflicts, strong communist parties can and will be forged whose aim, as stated in the constitution of the Socialist Workers Party, is "to educate and organize the working class in order to establish a workers and farmers government, which will abolish capitalism . . . and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism."

Worldwide depression and social crisis

These pages describe the changing face of U.S. and world politics since the curve of capitalist development turned downward in the early 1970s after the long post-World War II economic expansion. An acceleration of that slide was signaled by the crash of the New York stock markets on October 19, 1987, the steepest one-day plunge this century. Literally overnight it became worldwide. By the opening years of the

1990s the capitalist system entered a worldwide depression. So long as capitalism exists, and despite ceaseless ups and downs of the business cycle, these depression conditions with their wearing deflationary bias will not be reversed unless the most powerful ruling classes in North America, Europe, and Asia and the Pacific are able to deal major defeats to the working class and labor movement and, through sharpening cutthroat competition and trade battles, destroy masses of commodities and capital. The inevitable companion of such an outcome would be devastating financial collapse, growing fascist movements, and world war.

Declining profit rates worldwide are intensifying capitalist competition for markets, sources of raw materials, and domination of low-wage "export platforms" in the semicolonial world. Many capitalists have slashed prices to the point of near-bankruptcy to push their rivals to the wall. In the United States beginning in the late 1980s, "downsizing" and "re-engineering" have become the code words un-

der which the superrich owners of industry and the banks are waging a ruthless cost-cutting drive. They have been laying off middle managers, technicians, and office employees, as well as industrial workers; simplifying production and administrative routines through computerization; and shutting down obsolete plants and equipment and dumping less profitable divisions. They are restructuring production lines and imposing "just in time" inventory balances and delivery schedules of parts and raw materials — in the process making factories much more vulnerable to stoppages.

The capitalists are carrying out unremitting warfare — sometimes open, sometimes disguised — against the health and safety, the unionization, and the very humanity of the working class. The employers keep pushing to cut back wages and benefits. They are expanding overtime work, as well as part-time and "temporary" jobs with low income and no benefits. They are intensifying speedup, increasing differentiation among employees hired for the same jobs, and raising the eligibility age for pensions. The ruling families throughout the imperialist world are conducting a fierce assault on the social wage — the elementary, government-funded social security programs the working class has fought for and won in order to safeguard the class as a whole by protecting its most vulnerable members.

The capitalist rulers seek to free their hands to deepen this anti-working-class offensive by chipping away at the rights working people have conquered on and off the job. Management seeks to restrict workers' right to act as unionists and political people in the workplace and uses "drug testing" and other ploys to victimize militants. The employers and their government, seeking to weaken the unity and striking power of the working class and labor movement, try to roll back affirmative action gains won by Blacks, women, and the unions. To curb the rebelliousness of young workers and press them to conform to capitalist discipline and values, the bosses target young people with "anticrime" campaigns and more draconian punishments. The cops, courts, and Congress crack down on the most fundamental rights of both the accused and convicted.

Working farmers, capital's rural debt slaves, continue to face attacks on their right to a living income and on the viability of their efforts to till the soil to produce food and fiber. The

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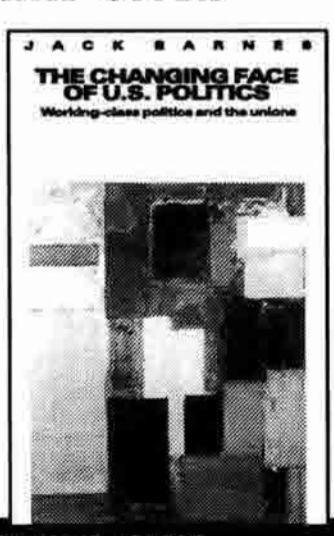
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1. Contained in Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay/Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Pathfinder, 1990), pp. 33-35.



MILITANT/HARVEY McARTHUR

Miners on strike at the Buck Creek mine in Sullivan, Indiana, May 1993, to force the coal company to negotiate a contract. "The guys who own this mine ran the Pyro mine in Kentucky when it exploded and killed 10 men. We don't want to be their next victims," explained one striker.

ruled's drive to maintain profit rates multiplies their disregard for measures to protect the environment.

In the closing years of the twentieth century, the evolution of the capitalist crisis is giving new force to the conclusion of Karl Marx some 130 years ago that this exploitative system of production "simultaneously undermines the original sources of all wealth — the soil and the worker."²

Capitalism's march toward war and depression

By the mid-1990s it has become clear that for the moment the U.S. rulers have come out on top in the initial bouts with their main rivals, including the most powerful, Germany and Japan. Moreover, U.S. capital is increasing its edge. "Concern about the economy's sluggish pace obscures a welcome development of transcendent importance: a remarkable improvement in America's ability to compete in world markets," crowed the *Wall Street Journal* in a front-page column

Capitalists are carrying out unremitting warfare against health and safety, unionization, and humanity of working class . . .

in September 1993. While this "may seem cold comfort for Americans whose jobs have recently disappeared or whose paychecks buy less than a few years ago," the *Journal* said, it is the only way to beat out U.S. capitalism's rivals "in an increasingly interconnected, competitive world."

Cold comfort indeed. But then the column was addressed to the wealthy minority who live off the labor of others, not to the producing majority whose labor creates social wealth and the material possibility of all culture.

The cost-cutting and capacity-reducing onslaught of the U.S. rulers in recent years has allowed them to take back substantial "market share" around the world in automobiles and trucks, electronics, semiconductors, telecommunications, steel, agricultural and construction equipment, and other products. This ground conquered by the U.S. capitalists vis-à-vis their chief rivals, combined with an upturn in the business cycle, has led the employers to begin hiring workers in order to increase output and boost profits. In fact, as this new edition is being prepared for press in April 1994, large numbers of young workers are getting jobs — many for the first time — in auto factories, steel mills, mining construction, railroads, and other industries. Being among these new hires is the biggest opportunity and challenge facing workers who are communists since they stood in the forefront of those in their workplaces and unions who came to oppose the imperialist military buildup that culminated in Washington's murderous assault against Iraq.

The opening section of this book, "Capitalism's March toward War and Depression," was written during that war drive in late 1990. It describes the blows dealt to the living standards, job conditions, and social welfare of the working class in the United States in the 1980s as a result of the bosses' antilabor offensive and the bipartisan rightward direction of government domestic policies. These trends have continued throughout the 1990s. The employers are taking advantage of a weakened labor movement to hire younger workers, playing fast and loose with seniority lists, hiring panels, job assignments, and other contract provisions. Management not only wants young bone and muscle, more capable of holding up under brutally intensified production lines and gutted work rules. The employers also hope these younger workers will be less union conscious and, glad to have some money in their pockets,

2. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 638.

will be more willing to go along to get along.

The report adopted by the 1979 convention of the Socialist Workers Party that appears in this book points to a time earlier this century when the bosses and others made similar assumptions about young workers — and were soon sadly disappointed. In Minneapolis in the early 1930s, many cadres of the communist movement came to carry central responsibilities in the strikes and labor battles that made that city a union town. Socialist workers helped build the Teamsters into a powerful union throughout the upper Midwest and took initial steps toward forging a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement from North Dakota to Texas, from Seattle to Cincinnati. These experiences, which young communist workers study and restudy, are recounted in the four-volume Teamsters series by Farrell Dobbs, a Teamsters organizer during the rise of the industrial union movement in the 1930s and longtime central leader of the SWP.³

"The Minneapolis socialists," the report explains, "understood and valued aspects of . . . situations that were seen by many others as obstacles — for example, the inexperience and rawness of the young workers. As Farrell [Dobbs] points out, this meant the ranks didn't have to unlearn so many things. They hadn't been brainwashed to believe that a layer of labor bureaucrats was to their left. Once these young workers went into action, they learned fast. True, it took a series of blows from the employers before they looked to their union, and some further blows before they looked beyond their initial union leaders." But look — and act — they soon did.

The capitalists and their spokespeople project onto the working class their own class-biased, self-serving, and self-deceiving notions about workers, who they in fact consider trash. To the employers, workers are simply objects — tools of a special kind to be used, used up, and then tossed as others are hired on. The bosses count on the corroding effects of the competition for jobs and divisions among working people bred by the market system and its dog-eat-dog values. They assume that the employed will never take up as their own the cause of the unemployed. The rulers believe that racism, discrimination against women, chauvinism against immigrants and workers in other countries, and generational conflicts will, in the final analysis, keep the working class and labor movement weak and divided. The capitalists are surprised when human solidarity — of which the working class is the bearer for the future of all humanity — comes together in explosive and unexpected resistance to assaults on the living standards, job conditions, and democratic and social rights of working people.

Young people who are coming into the factories and other workplaces today find themselves alongside workers from several previous generations. New hires can and do learn from these experienced workers about the blows that have been dealt to wages, working conditions, and the unions over the past two decades. These attacks are also detailed throughout this book.

But these setbacks and their consequences do not bear down on the young generation of workers as they do on those who waged a strike battle some years ago and lost. The impact is different on those who fought a strike to a frustrating stalemate or who — as happened for nearly half a decade following the devastating 1981-82 recession — made deep-going concessions to the bosses with virtually no fightback at all, only to find themselves bounced from plant to plant anyway as the owners shut down productive capacity. The factories and the unions as they exist today are the only thing that younger workers have ever known; that is their starting point. Setbacks and standoffs from the past do not loom very large in how they judge when to say "no" to the employers' takeback demands, or in how they weigh the timing or the terrain for a fight. Neither aging nor the trade union bureaucracy have taught young workers what they "can't do." Nor have they been taught who they can't listen to or what they shouldn't bother reading.

For these very reasons, the new generation is more likely to spot important shifts, to recognize new weaknesses in the employers' position, and to seize the opportunity to initiate a fight that can strengthen the union. Free from demoralization born



(Top) Aftermath of U.S. bombing on road to Basra during Iraq war, February 1991. One member of U.S. air brass called slaughter a "turkey shoot." (Right) Protest in Salt Lake City, Utah, December 1990, against U.S. war in Persian Gulf.



MILITANT/DAVE WULP

of past setbacks and standoffs, and not yet "socialized" by more privileged layers in the plants, younger workers can explode into resistance regardless of moral lectures from preachers and pundits, rationalizations for givebacks by the labor officialdom, or promises by the capitalists and their government of what "we" can accomplish if "you" sacrifice just a little bit longer. In the process, many older workers will reach into their reserves and discover they too are different people than they thought they had become.

The key to new advances by the working class and labor movement will be the combination of hard-won experience from years of struggle and the combative freshness and initiative of young fighters.

Capitalism's evils produce moral revulsion among youth

These characteristics of young people are not limited to those currently working a job. The history of the modern class struggle confirms that before deepening social crises erupt into mass movements in the streets, into large-scale labor struggles and the growth of revolutionary organizations, millions of young workers and students begin questioning the social and political consequences of the capitalist order. Stirrings of a radicalization among youth signal broader social conflicts that are welling up below.

When young people look at the capitalist world today, they find they are also staring their own futures in the face. They see



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3. The four volumes are *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*, all published by Pathfinder.

Eastern Airlines striker at abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., in 1989.



MILITANT/JON HILLSON



(Top) Steelworkers Local 8888 picketers at Newport News Shipbuilding Co., April 1979. Victory of drive to organize 18,000 workers, with Black workers in the vanguard, showed that civil rights battles against Jim Crow segregation created favorable conditions for the struggles of working people. (Left) Steelworkers Fight Back, led by Ed Sadlowski (at left), challenged entrenched bureaucracy in the union 1975-77.

EARL DOTTER

the kind of human beings they are being educated and groomed to become. More and more they find the image grotesque and intolerable. They are repelled by the greed, hypocrisy, cynical smarminess, brutality, and inhumanity they see all around them — especially among the "caring" layers of ruling-class apologists. They question the credibility of the government, its military and police, and other capitalist institutions. They foresee an even more horrifying future emerging from an already horrifying present. More and more of them want to take the moral high ground by speaking the simple truth about the results of exploitation and oppression the world over and by unconditionally opposing these horrors, regardless of the consequences. Growing numbers, as individuals and in small groups, start challenging the legitimacy of capitalism itself and are attracted to socialism, to the communist movement, to the traditions of the working class. They are attracted to a life whose practical implications are in harmony with their deeply felt political opinions, where there is not a gulf between words and deeds.

Since the 1987 stock market crash, the world has become one in which, for the first time in more than half a century, millions of working people in the imperialist countries themselves sense that we are in the early stages of a catastrophic social, economic, and political crisis. It is a world in which the Stalinist apparatuses in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the greatest obstacle for more than sixty years to the historic line of march of the world working class, have come crashing down one after another. It is a world in which political polarization has already reached the point in economically advanced capitalist democracies that ultrarightist, Bonapartist, and outright fascist demagogues and movements are carving out growing space for themselves from a base within bourgeois politics. Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot in the United States; the heirs of Mussolini in the rightist electoral blocs in Italy; nationalist, ultrarightist currents in Russia; fascist street gangs in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere across Europe — all these point in the same direction so long as bourgeois power and politics dominate the world. The prospect that such a Bonapartist force could once again seize the reins of government in an intolerably crises-ridden industrialized capitalist country also focuses attention on the possibility of a future war between imperialist powers in North America, Europe, and Asia — something virtually ruled out for nearly half a century following World War II.⁴

To readers of this book who are in their late twenties or older, these developments register major shifts in politics that necessitate substantial adjustments in their assumptions about the world. But this world is the one that young workers and students take for granted. It is the only reality in which they have ever practiced politics — even if it is also a world whose evils and injustices are more and more unbearable to them. There is much less to unlearn, once they have begun serious education in class politics and socialism.

Young people who radicalize and become active in poli-

4. See issues 10 and 11 of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, as well as "The Opening Guns of World War III" in *New International* issue no. 7.

tics do so in reaction to what they are *against*; what they are concretely *for* and how to achieve it usually remains vague for a while longer. Students and young workers were among the first to organize protest actions against the U.S. government's slaughter in Iraq in 1991. They are in the front ranks of those defending abortion clinics against physical assaults, and of those looking for a piece of the ultrarightists who organize such attacks. They hate the injustice and indignities of racism and will use whatever means necessary to eradicate them, if offered clear and effective leadership. They take to the streets spontaneously to demand an end to cop brutality like the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1991. They despise the rulers' arrogant contempt for immigrants and for their languages, culture, and capacities. Youth are

Young people look at capitalist world today and are repelled by greed, hypocrisy, and brutality they see all around them . . .

repelled by the U.S. rulers' unceasing hostility toward the Cuban revolution and by the devastating economic and social consequences of decades of apartheid oppression in South Africa. They are outraged by the poisonous destruction of the environment as a result of a social system that puts profits above all other priorities.

But young people also rapidly begin trying to figure out what is causing the evil they are against, and what can be done about it. They begin searching for a force in society with the power to bring about change. They become interested in radical ideas and in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books that they hope will present clear answers to the questions they are grappling with. A number of them start checking out socialist organizations, hoping to find one serious enough to join.

The intensifying exploitation of workers on the job and the employers' increasing antilabor assaults are often among the evils of capitalism that young people — especially those not currently working in industry, or not union members — have the most difficulty initially recognizing and reacting against. Strikes and other union battles are seldom among the first struggles that many radicalizing youth look to as being related in a decisive way to opposing the ills of capitalism that are causing them to become socialists. Once they are introduced to workers resisting worsening conditions of life under capitalism in decline, however, young fighters soon broaden their scope and concretize the political foundations on which they act.

Over time, a growing fightback in the union ranks will converge with mounting social protests. Both represent resistance to the brutality of capitalism, a brutality that is the biggest barrier to human solidarity and social progress. Young people and other fighters will come to understand that all the ills of the

modern world are a product of its most fundamental evil — the way in which capitalism reproduces its exploitative social relations to enrich a handful of wealthy ruling families, and in the process grinds human beings into the dust, destroys the natural environment, and reinforces every aspect of oppression and degradation inherited from millennia of class-divided society.

This book explains the kind of party the working class needs in order to prepare for the coming class battles that will decide whether humanity's future will be marked by fascist tyranny and war, or by revolutionary victories by working people over the horrors of a moribund capitalism and the reconstruction of the world on new, socialist foundations. If proletarian communist parties are not being built long before the decisive battles are joined, it will be too late; workers and their allies among the toiling majority of humanity will go down to defeat.

From its origins in the mid-nineteenth century, the modern communist movement has put at the center of its efforts something new in human history: building parties whose leaders as well as members are, in their big majority, workers. With the worldwide expansion of capitalist industry in the twentieth century, communist parties — from the Bolsheviks under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, to the Socialist Workers Party of the United States and its cothinkers in communist organizations in other countries today — have worked to anchor their activity in the most strategically central and powerfully organized bastion of the working class, the industrial workers and their unions.

Building parties of socialist workers

For reasons explained in these pages, the SWP was forced from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s to retreat from carrying out political work on a broad scale through organized groups of worker-bolsheviks in the industrial unions. The political conditions that necessitated this retreat shifted in the aftermath of the 1974-75 recession, which was the deepest since 1937-38 and the first downturn since then that was worldwide in scope. It dealt a blow to workers' illusions in the capacity of capitalism to deliver some semblance of ongoing security to them and their families. This changing consciousness came on top of deep-going shifts in attitudes as a result of the civil rights and Black Power movements, the anti-Vietnam War protests, and the new wave of women's rights fights in the 1960s and 1970s. In the mid- and late seventies a round of struggles for school desegregation in Boston and several other cities, resistance by members of the United Mine Workers and United Steel Workers unions, and a rise in protests by working farmers were manifestations of these changes among working people and of the resulting expansion of space for political work by class-conscious workers in the labor movement.

Given this new situation, the Socialist Workers Party decided in 1978 to initiate a turn to the industrial unions. The goal was to organize the big majority of its members and leaders to get jobs in industry and to be active members of industrial unions. "Our turn has to do with what is changing in the American working class," states the report adopted by the party's 1979 convention. "When our kind of party has the opportunity to go to the weightiest and most powerfully organized sections of our class and do political work, we have to do it. That's ABC for a proletarian Marxist party that strives to lead the workers to a socialist revolution."

"Doing so strengthens everything we do," the report says. "It strengthens the party. It strengthens every member of the

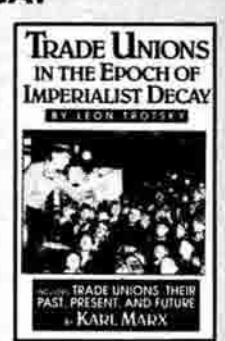
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(Top) Striking Teamsters shake hand of truck driver honoring their picket line at Yellow Freight in Miami, April 1994. Through one-month solid strike 75,000 workers pushed back trucking bosses' plans to institute part-time work. (Left) Selling the socialist press at a meatpacking plant in St. Paul, Minnesota, April 1992. Weekly plant-gate sales are organized by socialist workers in cities across the United States and in other countries.

party. It strengthens our participation in every struggle of the oppressed."

Many of those who carried out this turn had been won to the socialist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, having come into political activity as young people through defending the socialist revolution in Cuba and involvement in the social protest movements of those years. In the process they came to admire communist leaders such as Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara and revolutionary figures such as Malcolm X.

SWP members were getting into industry in early 1979 when a revolution triumphed in Iran and the toilers changed forever the position of U.S. imperialism in that part of the

world. Victorious revolutions later that same year in Nicaragua and the Caribbean island of Grenada brought two new workers and farmers governments to power in the Americas. These two victories renewed prospects for an extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas and made it possible for Cuban workers and their communist leadership to take new steps forward in building socialism and advancing their proletarian internationalist course. From among those in the United States and other countries who rallied to these revolutions, more young fighters were won to the communist movement and helped build the organized fractions of SWP members in the industrial unions.

Many of these young people had first joined the Young Socialist Alliance, an independent youth organization in political solidarity with the SWP, and subsequently became convinced of the need to build a communist workers party. "It was our movement's ability to recruit from the new generation of radicalizing youth — from the early sixties on — that today poses the possibility of making this turn" to the industrial unions, points out a report to an international gathering of communists in 1979 included in this book. "And this possibility now coincides with a pressing political necessity," the report continues, not only for the SWP but for communist organizations around the world.

SWP's political continuity

The closing section of this book describes how the communist movement in the United States carried out a turn to the industrial unions in the late 1930s. Opportunities for communist political work in the labor movement had expanded with the battles that built

the industrial unions into a powerful social movement. Among hundreds of thousands of the most class-conscious workers, there was growing openness to the need to break from political subordination to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and to begin building an independent labor party based on the unions.

At the same time, the sharpening crisis of the world capitalist system was bringing down growing pressures on working people in the United States and worldwide. Workers in Europe had sustained the biggest defeats in the history of the working class in the 1920s and 1930s with the victory of fascism in Italy, Germany, Spain, and elsewhere. By the end of the 1920s a privileged bureaucratic social layer, which came to be headed by Joseph Stalin, had pushed the working class out of politics in the Soviet Union and defeated those in the leadership of the Communist Party and Communist International who had fought to continue carrying out the revolutionary internationalist course of V.I. Lenin, who died in early 1924.

Coming out of World War I (1914-18), the underlying conflicts among the rival imperialist bourgeoisies in the United States, Europe, and Japan — not one of which had been decisively resolved by the outcome of the war — rapidly reemerged at the center of world politics. As international capitalism plunged into a deep social crisis during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the combined defeats

Humanity's future will be marked by fascism and war or by revolutionary victories by working people . . .

dealt to the working class by fascism and Stalinism cleared the way for the imperialist rulers to drag humanity toward a second world slaughter. This time, moreover, the various imperialist ruling families sought not only to redivide the world to their own benefit at the expense of their rivals, but also to destroy the Soviet workers state and reconquer its land and labor for capitalist superexploitation.

In the United States, the preparations for war by the Democratic administration of Franklin Roosevelt and the devastating effects of the sharp 1937-38 downturn in the business cycle shifted the relationship of class forces to the disadvantage of the working class. A class-collaborationist officialdom began to consolidate its political hold on parts of the young industrial union movement. The U.S. rulers took advantage of Moscow's counterrevolutionary crimes and political betrayals to whip up bourgeois public opinion against the Soviet workers state and communism, in whose name the Stalinist regime falsely claimed to speak. The union bureaucracy did its best to reverse the momentum toward independent working-class political action and hitch the labor movement to the employers' parties and their bipartisan drive toward war. Rightist demagogues like Father Charles Coughlin and fascist outfits like the Silver Shirts became more active in response to the labor upsurge that had recently peaked.

Faced with this political situation, communists in the United States recognized the pressing need to center their party-building activity even more in the working class and industrial unions. The importance of this challenge was discussed in an exchange of letters in 1937 between U.S. communist leader James P. Cannon, a founder of the SWP, and Leon Trotsky, a central Bolshevik leader who had been driven into exile by Stalin in the late 1920s because of his leadership of the worldwide fight to maintain Lenin's revolutionary course. Trotsky, who closely followed the class struggle in the United States and efforts to build a communist party there, wrote to Cannon in October 1937:

The party has only a minority of genuine factory workers. This is an inevitable beginning for every revolutionary workers' party everywhere, and especially in the United States. . . . [But the party leadership must now] orient in practice the whole organization toward the factories, the strikes, the unions. It seems that this should be one of the most important tasks of the new convention . . .

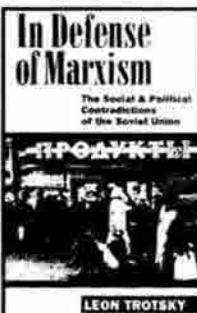
This political course ran into growing resistance from a petty-bourgeois layer in the leadership and ranks of the party and in the socialist youth movement of that time. Under the pressures of Washington's war drive, as the threat of imperialist aggression mounted, this political current began to beat a panicky retreat from defense of the Soviet workers state. The resulting fight for the soul of the communist movement in the United States is recounted in the books *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky and *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon, both published by Pathfinder.

This political fight unfolded throughout the closing years of the 1930s and culminated in a split by the petty-bourgeois opposition from the Socialist Workers Party as the U.S. rulers' entry into World War II drew inexorably closer. Shortly before

5. Readers can also refer to the Education for Socialists publication *Background to "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party"* by James P. Cannon, Leon Trotsky, and others, also published by Pathfinder. The October 1937 letter from Trotsky to Cannon cited above appears in full in this publication.

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Striking Peabody coal miner speaks July 1993 in Seattle at send-off rally for shipment of humanitarian aid to Cuba. For working people, solidarity means advancing our common class position against our common class enemy on a world scale.

the split, on the eve of the party's 1940 convention, Cannon summed up the fight in the following words:

The convention will meet and conduct its work under the sign of the *proletarian orientation*. That is the way to meet the coming war. Preparation for war means, for us, not some esoteric special task. It means turning the face of the party to the workers, penetrating deeper into the trade unions [and proletarianizing] the composition of the party membership.⁶

That remains the banner under which the Socialist Workers Party and young socialists today conduct their work, in face of the growing crisis of world capitalism and the renewed march toward fascism and war.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and communist leagues in a number of other countries successfully carried out the course outlined in this book. These parties and their elected leadership committee's are composed in their substantial majority of workers in industrial union jobs. In a rapidly shifting world situation — one heading at a pace no one can predict toward violent class battles of a kind not seen since the long buildup toward World War II — the communist movement in the United States today is not faced with organizing a radical turn to proletarianize its composition on the scale confronting its forerunner half a century earlier.

Meeting the challenges of the 1990s and beyond

At the same time, the SWP and communist organizations elsewhere in the world have felt the effects of the blows that have been dealt to the working class and labor movement over the last fifteen years. Despite important strikes and resistance by workers, struggles were not generalized and the working class and unions remained in retreat. By the close of the 1980s, the revolutionary workers and farmers governments in Grenada and Nicaragua had both gone down



Farmers demonstration demands an end to foreclosures, Plattsburgh, Missouri, March 1985. An alliance with the farmers is essential to defend the unions and lead a successful struggle to bring to power a workers and farmers government in the United States.

to defeat.⁷ The mass worker and peasant struggles that toppled the shah of Iran in 1979 had been deflected by a new bourgeois regime that used nationalist and religious demagogic to justify its class rule.

Neither in the United States nor in any other industrially advanced capitalist country, however, have the capitalists taken on the working class and labor movement in major class battles and defeated them, as happened with the spreading triumph of Bonapartist and fascist reaction across Europe and in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s.

Moreover, the working class internationally is much stronger than it was fifty years ago. What Karl Marx and Frederick Engels called the hereditary proletariat — wageworkers and their families, with no prospect of any return to the land or other forms of successful petty commodity production — comprise the big majority of the population of every imperialist country today. There are fewer and fewer countries even among the oppressed nations of Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, or Africa in which there is not a growing working class, including industrial workers. Capitalist forms of land tenure, agricultural production, and the exploitation of peasants and farm labor continue to expand as well.

Intensified exploitation and imperialist oppression throughout the so-called Third World are accelerating class polarization and differentiation; working people are being driven off the land into swollen urban slums and across borders and seas in search of jobs and a living income. The earth is more and more a single world, as toilers from every continent become part of the working class in cities and towns across the United States, Canada, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and to a smaller but growing degree even Japan. Throughout the capitalist world, women have been drawn into the workforce — and into the industrial unions and social and political life — more than ever before in history.

Of particular significance in the United States is the growing weight in the working class of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities. As SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters explains in a May 1979 report on "Forging the Leadership of a Proletarian Party," which appears in these pages, "In the 1930s the Black population and the Chicano population were much more rural and engaged in agriculture. They were more an ally of the working class than a layer of the working class. This has changed dramatically over the past forty years. . . . That is why it is both more necessary and more possible today to construct a proletarian party that is multinational in composition and leadership."

Weakening of world Stalinism

Finally, among the most important factors improving the prospects of the working class today is the weakening of world Stalinism. For more than sixty years the privileged parasitic caste used its state power and its siphoned wealth to portray its self-interested actions and policies as the continuity of the Bolshevik revolution and Marxism. It presented a counterfeit of communism as the real thing. Trading on the power of the October revolution, the Stalinists won to their ranks the vast majority of revolutionary-minded workers and youth around the world who, generation after generation, became convinced of the need to join the socialist movement. Inside the Stalinist parties, these fighters — many of them the best of their generation — were either politically broken and corrupted as revolutionaries or eventually demoralized and driven out of politics. With the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses throughout Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union since 1989, that brake on the development of genuine communist parties and youth organizations has been largely released.

The fracturing of the international Stalinist murder machine decreases the weight in world politics of petty-bourgeois alternatives to proletarian leaderships that will emerge from struggles by the toilers. It opens the road to further political progress by the new generation of leaders in Cuba who are seeking to emulate and build on the communist course exemplified by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. It lowers barriers to the revolutionary advance of leaders of the African National Congress such as Nelson Mandela and others as they march toward a

7. See "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution" in *New International* no. 9 and "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" in *New International* no. 6, both available from Pathfinder.

democratic, nonracial South Africa and open political space for the oppressed and exploited to organize to press for their class interests. It increases the capacity of thinking workers and youth everywhere to absorb the revolutionary political legacy of Malcolm X; of Thomas Sankara, leader of the revolutionary government in the African country of Burkina Faso from 1983 to 1987; of the Grenada revolution's Maurice Bishop; of Carlos Fonseca, the founder of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front who in the early 1960s, inspired by the example of the Cuban revolution, brought genuine Marxism to Central America for the first time.

Pathfinder, the publisher of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, is today also the major source in English of the writings and speeches of these late twentieth-century revolutionary and communist leaders. They take their place alongside Pathfinder's political arsenal of communist works by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States such as James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack.

With the discrediting of Stalinism, these books and pamphlets can now win a much wider and more serious readership around the world. It remains true today — as the 1979 SWP report on "Educating the Leadership of a Proletarian Party" explains — that "the role of ideas is increasingly important in the class struggle."

As young socialists are launching new organization in United States, communist workers are taking advantage of new hiring

Despite increasing class tensions and political polarization since that time, it is still the case, as that 1979 report points out, that "we are at a stage in which the radicalization of the working class does not express itself through any mass organized forms. There is no class-struggle left wing, not even the nucleus of one in any meaningful sense. There is no large political party that is part of the workers movement. There are no radicalized mass organizations of the oppressed with a proletarian line. The working class has no voice, no mass vehicle either for expressing its historical political interests or for representing thinking workers who begin to develop class-conscious ideas."

"But we know that this situation cannot stop the large-scale increase in thinking and debate that is going on in the working class," the report says. "The depth of this process has been confirmed over the past several years since we began the turn." And this interest in ideas will grow as resistance increases among workers and youth.

Narrowing the gap

The 1985 Socialist Workers Party resolution that closes this book explains that "a growing number of class battles, combined over time with a deepening social crisis, uprisings in the colonial and semicolonial countries, and imperialist wars, will transform politics and the labor movement in this country. We have entered the initial stages of a preparatory period, which will lead in coming decades to a pre-revolutionary upheaval marked by revolutionary struggles of a kind that workers and farmers in the United States have not waged in more than a century."

The resolution goes on to say, however, that today there is "a gap between the current experiences and consciousness of the working class, and the radically transformed conditions and methods of struggle that will emerge as social, economic, and war crises tear apart the current framework of relative social stability and bourgeois democracy."

The 1985 resolution points out that given this gap between

Continued on Page 18

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Cuban youth meets Minnesota Northwest airline workers . . .

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — The din of machinery in the sheet metal shop made it hard to hear, so Bryce Moran suggested to Pável Diaz Hernández they move into the shop office where they could continue their discussion about the 1961 U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.

"It happened three years before I was born," said Moran, a mechanic at Northwest Airlines. "What I know I got from my dad, who was on [military] alert." Diaz said he hadn't been born yet either, "but my father fought there." He asked the young mechanic what he thought occurred.

"Well," Moran said, "the freedom fighters tried to overthrow the Castro dictatorship, but he was able to maintain power. But they were abandoned by the U.S. on the beach, they were betrayed."

'We call them mercenaries'

"We call them mercenaries," Diaz responded. "The battle only lasted three days. Hundreds of thousands were mobilized. It can't be said that one man, [Fidel] Castro, defeated the invasion. This would be impossible. The mercenaries were hoping for an uprising in Cuba's cities, they wanted to take a small piece of Cuba and call for a U.S. invasion."

"But that never happened," the Cuban revolutionary continued. "The mercenaries were 'betrayed' by the Cuban people, who never supported them. Today [April 21] the people of Cuba are celebrating the anniversary of this victory." The two young men continued exchanging opinions on the invasion.

Moran had been storing up questions about Cuba, like several other workers in Hangar C. That's because Melanie Zimmer, a hangar mechanic for nearly six years, had piqued their curiosity.

She approached a number of coworkers for donations for the Pastors for Peace-sponsored humanitarian aid caravan to Cuba in February, collected an oversized suitcase full of powdered milk and aspirin, and brought it to a send-off for the Minnesota contingent.

With the return of the local activists from Cuba, Zimmer took a photo album made by one of the caravan participants to work, to show where the donations went.

"People asked me questions I couldn't answer," Zimmer said. "So I went to read some more. But then, I thought, if we could get a Cuban to come to work, that would help."

Zimmer got permission from Northwest to show the hangar to the Cuban visitor

and introduce him to her coworkers, members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1833. Diaz was in town during the last leg of a speaking tour on college campuses in dozens of U.S. cities.

Zimmer and Diaz were accompanied by a translator and two Minneapolis-St. Paul area unionists active in defending the Cuban revolution.

Why did revolution happen?

"Wasn't Cuba wealthy [before the 1959 revolution]? The casinos, beaches, resorts. It was beautiful. Why did they revolt in the first place?" Moran asked.

"That's a very logical question, based on what you've heard. I'll speak from experience," said the young Cuban. "My family is Black. There are nine of us, brothers and sisters. My father was a rice farmer. My mother was illiterate, and lost a baby at childbirth. My oldest brother was a shoeshine boy to help us put food on the table. The majority of Cubans were like us. None of us went to the clubs, the beaches, the casinos. My parents' generation had no work, no education, no health care. Life was hell."

"I think some people work harder than others," Moran said, "and they should get more for what they do." The young Cuban responded, "Everybody should get at least what they need."

Moran listened closely as some of his questions were answered. He was about to ask some when a crew chief entered the office. The two shook hands before the young mechanic returned to work.

Zimmer, who was wearing a T-shirt with the word Cuba written across it, led Diaz through the hangar. She stopped to introduce him to several coworkers and they chatted for several minutes.

An older mechanic said he wanted to visit



Militant/Jon Hillson

Pável Diaz (right) meets with Northwest workers at the airline's hangars in Minneapolis

Cuba. Asked why, he told Diaz, "Thirty years or so ago, before I hired on to National [Airlines] in Washington, I trained people for the Bay of Pigs [as parachutists]. The people who got me into this never told me what I was doing it for."

"I don't believe in [the invasion]," the mechanic noted, "but I've always wanted to see Cuba for myself. I'm just about Fidel's [Castro] age and I'd like to meet him." Diaz smiled, "You're invited," he said, shaking the mechanic's hand.

Discussion on working conditions

Zimmer took the Cuban youth leader upstairs to a small break area where a dozen workers were getting ready to leave. She introduced them by name to Diaz, amidst a round of handshakes. They sat down as questions and responses flew back and forth.

"How are the working conditions here?" Diaz asked. "Well, I'm a capitalist, I'm doing pretty well," one mechanic said.

"How can you say that after [Northwest chief executive Al] Checci got \$6,000 a year from us in givebacks," said Zimmer, referring to the concessions squeeze by North-

west management last year resulting in an 11 percent wage cut.

Several of the IAM members nodded. "Okay," said the mechanic, "so I'm not doing as well as last year." Two other mechanics said they'd like to see Cuba for themselves. The discussion concluded as a manager showed up on the scene.

Zimmer then led Diaz up a two-story scaffolding through a 747 jumbo jet, introducing him to more mechanics.

The two-hour visit ended, and Diaz, Zimmer, and their escorts headed to the home of a Northwest ramp worker, where several Local 1833 members were waiting with refreshments for more discussion.

"You can understand Cuba this way," Diaz said after midnight, to laughter and applause from the unionists. "It's as if since 1959 the U.S. government 'locked us out' for making the revolution. And ever since then, we've been waiting for people in the world to go out on strike with us."

Jon Hillson is a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union.

. . . wraps up campus meetings in Midwest

BY DAMON TINNON
AND JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — "We're brothers," said a Northwest Airlines mechanic, extending a hand to Cuban youth leader Pável Diaz Hernández as the two finished talking at the giant repair hangar here.

The two-hour hangar visit April 21 was one of the highlights of the Cuban youth's six-week, cross-country speaking tour at more than 50 college and university campuses, co-ordinated by the University of Minnesota-based Faculty-Student Cuban

Youth Lectures Committee. Diaz also addressed receptions, met with political activists, and spoke with unionists and farmers, presenting his ideas to more than 4,000 people throughout the United States.

"We Cubans know a lot about the U.S. government's policy towards Cuba," Diaz told the Northwest workers. "And we know a lot about U.S. foreign policy in the world. But, in truth, we know nothing, really nothing, about life in the United States, the lives of working people. On my tour, I have learned more from workers about this than I possibly could have imagined. And that is what I am going to tell people when I return to Cuba."

Diaz, 30, is an associate-researcher at the Havana-based Center of Study for Youth and a member of the Union of Young Communists.

Teamsters picket line

On April 20, the Cuban youth brought this message to striking Teamsters on the picket line at Yellow Freight in Burnsville, a suburb of Minneapolis.

"You're from Cuba? Wow!" said one striker, who explained that he'd never spoken to a Cuban who lives in Cuba and supports the revolution.

Diaz was joined by members of the Student Political Organizing Committee (SPOC) from the University of Minnesota who had previously visited the picket line to offer solidarity to the Teamster strikers.

"It means a lot for me to be able to speak with you here," Diaz told the Teamsters he met. He said he wanted to learn more about how workers in the United States defend their rights. Several Teamsters responded by telling Diaz about the issues in their strike during his hour-long visit with them.

The Cuban youth also addressed more than 125 students and faculty members at separate meetings at Carleton and St. Olaf colleges in Northfield, Minnesota, and a reception at Spanish House, a St. Olaf residence for Spanish speakers, attended by students from the United States, Costa Rica,

and Puerto Rico.

Diaz was introduced at Carleton by Josh Paulson, a leader of the Socialist Study Group.

"Everyone [at the Carleton meeting] was receptive to listening to a communist view of what is happening in Cuba," said Cara Nine, a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, which helped publicize the event.

Derek Lee, chairperson for Diaz's St. Olaf presentation, said the campus events inspired him to want to go to Cuba even more.

At a social gathering on the eve of his return to Cuba from Minneapolis, Diaz spoke by phone with Mark Curtis, a union and political activist currently serving a 25-year sentence in Iowa on false charges of sexual assault and burglary.

Early in his tour, Diaz learned of Curtis's fight for parole from Iowa supporters of the international defense effort and sent him a message of solidarity.

Curtis described to Diaz how he defends the Cuban revolution in the Iowa state prison in Ft. Madison.

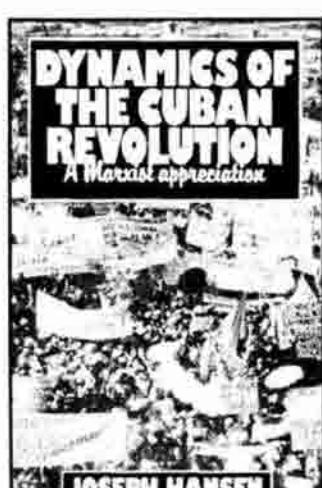
After speaking to the imprisoned activist in Spanish Diaz shifted to English when a fellow inmate of Curtis who was interested in Cuba got on the phone.

Message from Wellstone

Diaz also received a departure message from U.S. Sen. Paul Wellstone of Minnesota. Wellstone was one of several elected officials and dozens of professors and university officials who sent the U.S. State Department messages urging a visa be granted to the Cuban youth leader.

"I am glad," Wellstone stated, "that so many young Americans have had the opportunity to hear your message."

Diaz's tour, Wellstone continued, "plays just as important a role as that of any other ambassador. I hope you will return in the future, and that soon it will not be so difficult for you and your colleagues to bring your message to the U.S."



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Caterpillar workers: 'No contract, no peace'

BY PETER THIERJUNG

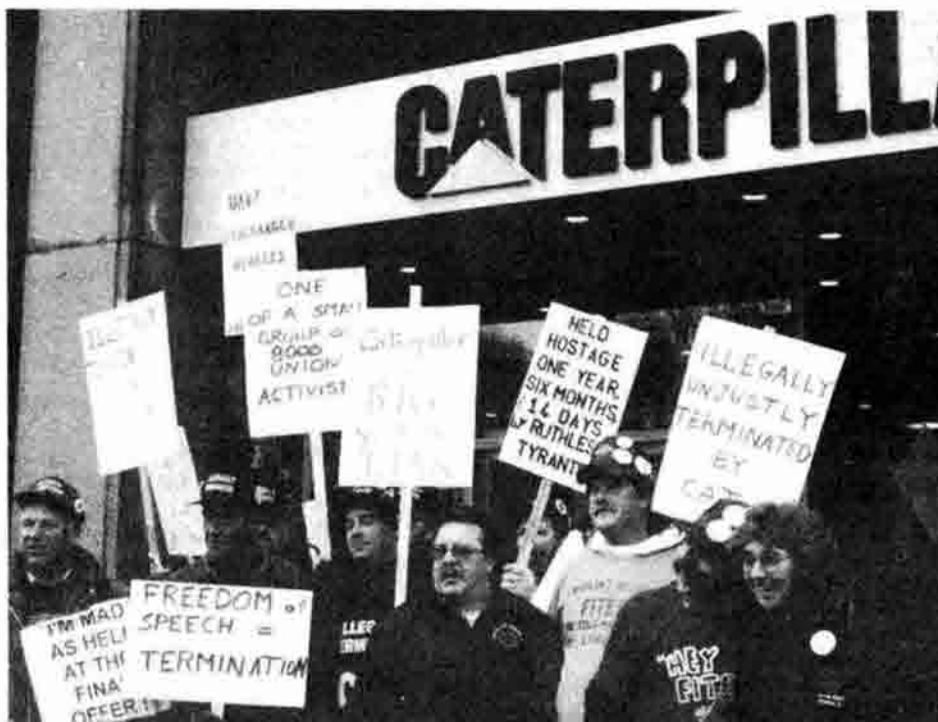
EAST PEORIA, Illinois — At 6:00 a.m. April 20, a pickup truck rolled up to the plant-gate at Caterpillar Inc.'s building LL here. Members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) jumped out and unloaded barrels, picket signs, stacks of handbills, dozens of boxes of donuts, and big urns of hot coffee. Building LL is part of the company's huge complex, which dominates this town. Caterpillar employs thousands of workers here.

Within minutes fires were lit in the barrels to warm up workers, and volunteers began distributing the handbills to unionists driving in. As first-shift workers arrived, they parked and joined their coworkers at the gate. The crowd grew and began chanting "No contract, no peace!" and "Solidarity! Solidarity! Solidarity!" Wary supervisors drove by looking for other ways to enter the plant.

By 6:30 a.m. a van with the notorious union-busting Vance Security guards arrived along with representatives of the company's labor relations office. Attempting to intimidate the unionists, they began videotaping the activities. Four East Peoria police squad cars arrived.

At 7:20 a.m. one worker shouted out "What do we want?" The more than 100 workers who had gathered roared back "A contract!" They then marched as a group into the plant to begin work. Many of them laughed over the anxiety they had caused management.

The rally organized by UAW members was one of many here in past weeks. For two years, UAW members have been working without a negotiated agreement. They were sent back to work by top union officials after striking for more than five months in 1991 and 1992. The company had threat-



Militant/Peter Thierjung
UAW members fired for union activity protest at Caterpillar, Peoria, Illinois, in December.

ened to hire scabs.

Since then, workers have faced harassment by bosses, denial of union rights, speedup, and worsening working conditions under a "final offer" imposed by Caterpillar, the world's largest manufacturer of earth-moving and heavy construction equipment.

Low inventories

After a three-day nationwide strike over unfair labor practices in November 1993, tensions between the union and company have been growing. Local walkouts at dif-

ferent factories have occurred in the last several months.

Business is at record levels. The company recently posted historic profits. Inventories are low. And many workers say they are ready to again take on Caterpillar. "We're pumped," one worker said. Sensing the workers' growing combativity, the Peoria *Journal Star* has run several editorials in recent weeks to convince workers that a strike now would not be in their best interests.

George Cornwell, a union activist and

Teamsters push back trucking bosses

Continued from front page

hires will get a cut in starting pay. The union also gave up the right to strike over grievances.

Another provision would allow companies to ship up to 28 percent of their freight by rail, up from the current 5 percent. The bosses seek to eliminate long-haul driver jobs. Teamster president Ron Carey said the agreement provides job security for currently employed drivers who may be affected by the switch to rail.

In Seattle Teamsters Local 741 member Fred Ellingson said workers had only sketchy reports from union officials on the agreement. "We don't know for sure what to think. We've heard that the companies are still pressing for use of part-timers, and if that's true a lot of us think we should still be on strike. I don't mind working just 40 hours a week, but many of the guys are strongly opposed to allowing casuals to take

away their overtime."

"I think the tentative contract is the best we could win in a difficult situation," said Ed Newman, a shop steward at Yellow Freight in Miami. "In the past 10 years our union hasn't been able to organize too many truck jobs, and the companies have been successful in their double breasting efforts."

Double breasting refers to the growing practice of unionized companies setting up nonunion subsidiaries to compete with and weaken the union workers. Consolidated Freight, for instance, owns nonunion subsidiaries doing \$1 billion worth of freight business a year.

The bosses are putting more capital into such operations. The Kenworth truck plant in Seattle, for example, has just started building 500 new heavy duty truck tractors for Viking, a subsidiary of Teamster-organized Roadway.

The national walkout, which began April 6, was the longest of its kind in Teamsters history and effectively shut down 22 trucking companies nationwide. While nonunion and Teamster-organized outfits not affected by the strike continued to operate, many businesses had serious problems with production and distribution during the walkout.

Support from other unions

Support from other unions helped make the strike more effective. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union honored Teamster picket lines at West Coast facilities of Sea-Land Services, a major operator of ships carrying containerized freight. Although Sea-Land was able to shift some work to Canadian ports, by the end of the strike it had 12 ships tied up in Los Angeles alone, unable to load or unload.

Numerous rallies and marches organized during the walkout pointed the way to win more support from other workers to strengthen the strike.

On April 28, some 50 striking Teamsters marched on the offices of Society General Bank in Manhattan. Society General had given a \$150 million line of credit to ABF Freight Systems, one of the major struck companies. The Teamsters then joined a picket line at offices of Alitalia Airlines, where members of the International Association of Machinists have been locked out for 5 months.

A May 1 article in the business pages of the *New York Times* stated, "A funny thing happened when the nation's unionized trucking companies decided to save money by replacing full-time workers with part timers. The Teamsters union struck, and won a partial victory."

Jim Schultz, a driver for Yellow Freight in Baltimore, told the *Militant*, "We had to take a stand now. We earn what we do because someone else before us fought for the union. We shouldn't let those coming behind us work for less."

Harvey McArthur is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle. Also contributing were Mark Gilsdorf from New York, Linda Joyce from Atlanta, Sherrie Love and Gale Shangold from Los Angeles, Greg McCartan from Baltimore, Janet Post from Miami, and Jon Hillson from St. Paul, Minnesota.

safety representative at Caterpillar's Mossville, Illinois, complex, reported that workers in his factory often hold union events during their 20-minute lunch break. "Sometimes 300-500 of us assemble in a narrow corridor between union and management offices," Cornwell said. Activists distribute the latest union literature and everyone joins in chanting union slogans. "Our chants echo through the whole building and rattle the windows," he said.

At quitting time, workers at Mossville's building DD leave the plant in double file. They come out in several groups of more than 100. Wearing red union T-shirts, with clenched fists in the air, they march through the parking lot and after a few minutes disperse.

"Top management here at Caterpillar has done a lot for unionism and solidarity," Jim Fisher said ironically. "They have forced the membership and locals to come closer together."

Fisher, who until recently worked at the Morton, Illinois, parts distribution center and has 26 years' seniority, described how several months ago workers would designate days to wear union T-shirts and buttons. The company attempted to discipline them ordering the unionists to remove the shirts and buttons. "But now every day is a T-shirt and button day," he said.

"Cooperation with the company on the shop floor is over," Fisher said. "We do whatever the job requires, no more, no less." He explained how the company had destroyed its credibility by delaying workers' cost-of-living pay increases, refusing to follow the grievance procedure, and harassing union activists. So many grievances have been filed at the Morton plant that "we now measure the stacks of paperwork by the foot," he said.

Fisher has been suspended twice. Once for wearing a T-shirt with the words "Cat buster" across it and another time for distributing union leaflets inside the plant on his own time in a nonwork area. The union challenged the suspensions and the company backed off.

"Supervisors, management, and guards will sometimes line up to videotape workers involved in union activities inside the plant and try to intimidate them," Fisher said. "But it doesn't work. We do have rights and we use them. The more they try to break us, the stronger we become."

Fisher said workers at the Morton plant have in the past felt isolated from the rest of the Caterpillar chain. The more than 700 UAW members there work under a "no strike" agreement negotiated by union officials in 1988. The agreement guarantees that Caterpillar parts will be sent out to customers even if workers at other plants go on strike.

He reported that more than 90 percent of the Morton workers are rejecting voluntary overtime as part of a protest against the company by workers across the chain.

Fisher was recently transferred to East Peoria. Coworkers honored him with a solidarity plaque presented at a plant-gate rally before he left the Morton facility.

Gary Collins, a welder for 21 years in East Peoria, said that at first there were some workers who did not participate in the union activities and displays of solidarity in the plant. "But when the company handed everyone, regardless of who participated, a warning letter, people got angry," he said.

"People are starting to see through the company. We are much more informed now," Collins said. He explained that there is more communication today within the union and membership than there had been previously. Union flyers, in-plant newsletters, and many other pieces of literature are regularly distributed.

Collins scoffs at the company's calls on the workers to help them become more competitive. "The company says they need to be more competitive and therefore our standard of living has to go down," he said.

The 1991-92 strike was a difficult one, Collins said, because it began as a selective strike with only some plants involved at first. In his opinion, organizing this way created unnecessary divisions. "But people are seeing the light, and how we are all in this together," he said. "Either we stick together, or we go down together."

Peter Thierjung is a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland, Ohio.

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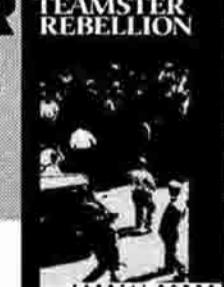
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Haiti march

Continued from front page

York, Boston, Montreal, Philadelphia, and several cities in New Jersey, Connecticut, and other states. Some drove or flew to Washington from areas much further away.

Lavaris Gaudin, a leader of the Miami Haitian rights group Veye Yo, said that the focus of the demonstration was to denounce U.S. president Bill Clinton. "We are totally disappointed in Clinton. He basically supports the coup in Haiti. We want [ousted president] Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to power in Haiti and we want the end to the sending back of Haitian refugees," he said.

Alexander Emanuel from Brooklyn explained that he was in Washington because "the U.S. government and its CIA are responsible for what's happening in Haiti."

Emanuel added that he was glad Aristide had come out strongly against the Clinton administration's policy of returning Haitian refugees and giving backhanded support to Haiti's military. "He should have said those things a long time ago," Emanuel stated.

Many people in the march wore stickers given out by organizers calling for a complete embargo on Haiti. The support for this demand was far from overwhelming, however. Protester Jean Lapine said the embargo on Haiti is not real and it is only hurting the Haitian people. "The military gets everything they want from the Dominican Republic and they make money from it," he said.

A similar demonstration was announced for Miami May 18.

Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of the more than 400 Haitians who entered the United States on a boat last week continue to be held in the Krome Detention Center in Miami. The Clinton administration, facing increasing pressure on its Haiti policy, allowed the boat to reach Miami's port after it had gotten within four miles of the shore.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

March for Immigrant Rights. Sat., May 28, 10 a.m. Meet at corner of Broadway and Washington, march to Los Angeles City Hall (corner of First and Main). Sponsored by California Latino Civil Rights Network, L.A. region. For more information: (818) 282-9431.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Lula in New York.

The Brazilian PT's presidential candidate on alternatives for the Amazon. Sun., May 8, Pace University, 1 Pace Plaza, (near City Hall). Donation \$15. **Fund-raising Reception.** Wed., May 12, 9 p.m. to 12 midnight, Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 West 43rd St. Donation \$25. For more information, call AMANAKA at (212) 674-4646 or Josa, Committee of Friends of Lula 1994, (203) 333-3421.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Celebrate the Grand Opening of the Pathfinder Bookstore and Publication of *New International* No. 9, "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution." Class and Discussion: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Black Independent Political Action. Sat., May 14, 3 p.m. Open House with refreshments, 7 p.m. Program, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Leslie Salgado, coordinator of Howard County Friends of Central America and the Caribbean; Hilbourne Watson, professor, department of Political Science, Howard University; Emily Fitzsimmons, Socialist Youth Organizing Committee and member of International Association of Machinists. **The Jewish Question.** class and discussion, Sun., May 15, 11 a.m. 1802 Belmont Rd. NW. Tel: (202) 387-2185. **From Cuba with Art!** Reception for opening exhibit of 30 unique artists from Cuba. May 15, from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. Centro de Arte, 1472 Irving St., NW. The exhibit will be shown daily for two weeks through Sat., May 28, 12 noon to 4 p.m. at same location. For more information, call Enisberto Jaraba-Pardo at (202) 483-7755.

CORRECTION

A Union Talk column in the February 28 issue of the *Militant* entitled "Framed-up Yellowknife strikers need solidarity" quoted Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers member Alexander Mikus as saying, "The company always transported explosives and men on the same cars." The quote should have said, "I have seen miners and explosives often transported on the same cars."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Celebrate the ANC Victory in South Africa! Speakers: Representative, African National Congress; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326, recently visited South Africa with an AFL-CIO delegation. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Eyewitness Report on "The Nation and its Emigrants" Conference held in Havana, Cuba, on April 23 and 24. Panel of conference participants. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Answering the Ultralight. How to Counter Appeals to Nationalism, Scapegoating, and "Family Values." Speaker Jason Coughlin, Boston coordinator of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee and member of the United Transportation Union. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Socialist Educational Weekend. May 21-22. Class: Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution Today, Sat., May 21, 3:30 p.m. Forum: Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, recently returned from a *Militant* reporting team to Cuba. Sat., May 21, 7:00 p.m. Fund-raising dinner, 6:30 p.m. Class: Eyewitness Report from South Africa. Opening presentation by Patricia O'Beirne, recently returned from *Militant* reporting trip from South Africa. Sun., May 22, 10 a.m. Meeting to discuss opportunities to form socialist youth group. Sun., May 22, 12 Noon. All events at 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Conflict in Rwanda Not a 'Tribal' War. Speaker: Mwenze Kongolo, *Forum Zaire* director, frequent traveler to Rwanda. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

The South African Election: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Kovin Naidoo, member, ANC Youth League, and former vice president of South African National Student Congress. He was part of Philadelphia delegation observing recent South African election. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party, lived and taught in Nicaragua from 1981 to 1986, and has visited frequently since then. Also participated in reporting teams for the *Militant* newspaper to Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador. Sun., May 15, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. A program to benefit the New International Fund. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers Party, former *Militant* correspondent of the Managua, Nicaragua Bureau, member, International Association of Machinists Local 289. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

Vancouver

Quebec Separation — What's at Stake for Working People? Speaker: Michel Dugré, member of central committee of Communist League. Sat., May 14, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: 604-872-8343.

Japan mired in recession, political instability

BY ROBERT MILLER

Hours after Japan's Parliament approved Tsutomu Hata as prime minister on April 25, the Socialist Party (SP) bolted from the seven-party ruling coalition, plunging into crisis this first minority government since 1955. Without the 74 SP deputies in Parliament, the Hata government only commands 189 seats in the 511-seat parliament.

The SP left the ruling coalition after five of the parties led by Hata's Japan Renewal party (Shinseito) formed a conservative voting bloc called Kaishin (Innovation) without consulting them.

"It is a betrayal," Tomiichi Murayama, chair of the SP, told a news conference. Before the election of Hata, the SP — in a reversal of past positions — had endorsed the ruling coalition's policy accords, which included an increase in sales tax and an aggressive policy against North Korea. An article in the *Financial Times* called the SP endorsement, "the latest humiliating climb-down for the party."

"It is impossible to expect anything from the minority Hata cabinet on big policy issues," the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* (Japan's Economic News) said, commenting on the prospects of the new government. The Japanese media has already declared that the government's lifespan may be measured in weeks. The previous prime minister, Morihiro Hosokawa, suddenly resigned April 8 in a financial scandal.

The Hata administration is also trying to push forward its plans to revise the Japanese constitution to allow the military to participate in UN operations abroad. The Hata cabinet is the first in post-World War II years to include a retired general, Shigeto Nagano, who is justice minister. In the view of Ichiro Ozawa, the coleader of the Re-

newal Party and a driving force in the government coalition, Japan must become a "normal nation." In his view that means a government with a real military that can be used abroad.

A visit to Japan April 22 by U.S. defense secretary William Perry, highlighted the divisions among Japan's rulers. He called for Tokyo to back efforts to impose an embargo against North Korea.

Washington props up dollar

On April 29, the U.S. government was forced to intervene in foreign exchange markets to prop up the dollar, which was at its lowest point against the Japanese yen in half-a-century. Analysts noted the widespread expectation that the new Japanese government would be too weak to resolve trade disputes with the United States as one of the factors leading to the crisis.

For Japan, sustained yen strength would hurt exports, with serious implications for its depressed economy.

On April 30, the Clinton administration backed away from announcing trade sanctions against Japan that were to begin that day. U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor put off any action until June 30, as U.S. officials explained that the minority Hata government could not be pushed now for trade concessions.

Other governments in Asia are also urging Washington to ease off from its campaign to force Tokyo to increase trade with U.S. companies. Govern-

ments from Australia to Malaysia to South Korea have attacked Washington's insistence on "numerical targets to ensure increased U.S. corporate market penetration in Japan. They believe that political pressure to buy U.S. goods will make it harder for the rest of Asia to sell its products to Japan. For the first time last year, Japan's trade surplus with the rest of Asia surpassed that with the United States, growing 25.1 percent to reach \$56 billion, compared to \$51 billion with the United States.

Meanwhile, Japan's economy remains mired in recession. For the year ending March 1994 industrial production fell 3.1 percent. Housing starts in March fell for the first time in 22 months. Unemployment is up from less than one-half of 1 percent to 2.6 percent, the highest level in seven years.

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CANADA

The market mechanism — A study found that one-third of U.S. renters can't afford a one-bedroom



Harry Ring

apartment. Montana has the lowest rents in the country — \$235 a month for an efficiency up to \$646 for a four-bedroom unit. But 44 percent of Montana renters can't afford these prices.

Now, for example — In Cuba, rents are limited to 10 percent of

income.

The Great Persuader — Prez Clinton wrote to Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, leaning on him to award a \$4 billion contract to upgrade the country's phone system to AT&T rather than rival bidders in other countries. Earlier, Clinton "persuaded" the Saudis to buy \$6 billion worth of jetliners from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas rather than Europe's Airbus.

Really? — "Some analysts said Clinton's intervention on behalf of U.S. companies in Saudi Arabia reflects Administration attempts to leverage the U.S.-led victory in the 1991 Persian Gulf War..." — News dispatch.

Grab now, worry later — "It's a little bit dangerous in the long run because I think the Saudi people are not terribly enthused about this picture of the Saudi king bowing to American pressure." — James Akins, former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia on the Clinton letter, which was released to the media in Saudi Arabia by Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Sleep well — The sleeping pill, Halcion, has long been on the market, with FDA approval, even though the manufacturer falsified and withheld research information showing dangerous psychiatric side effects. An FDA spokesman said it was not important that a 1973 test on prisoners resulted in cases of

paranoia. He said the prisoners were given higher doses than now permitted by the FDA and, besides, prisoners have more psychiatric problems to begin with.

The children too? — Assertedly as an antifraud measure, officials began fingerprinting recipients of Aid to Families With Dependent Children. Those who decline to be fingerprinted will be denied aid.

"Expensive but fantastic" — That's the eye-grabber on the ad for ROM — The Time Machine, a high-tech exerciser that will put you in prime condition in but four minutes a day. That's a savings of at least 150 hours a year, it's explained, so if your time is worth \$50

an hour, it's a steal at \$10,400.

Not to hurry — There was a "low level emergency" at the Salem 1 nuclear power plant in New Jersey, but there were no "abnormal" radiation releases, officials assured. Inspectors found the plant has operated for years with a faulty valve system. A company spokesperson said, "It's been on a list of major equipment modifications to be done. We recognize that we should have gotten to it sooner."

Thought for the week — "You'll never pay a really top-notch executive... as much as they are worth. A million, \$3 million or \$10 million, it's still peanuts." — Warren Buffett, a reported "financial wizard."

Nation of Islam meeting stirs debate on racism

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Billed as a rally to document the Black holocaust, nearly 2,000 people turned out April 19 to hear Nation of Islam spokesman Khalid Abdul Muhammad, Wellesley College professor Tony Martin, and Leonard Jeffries, chairman of the African Studies Department at the City University of New York.

Muhammad was removed from his position as national spokesperson for the Nation of Islam following outcry over anti-Semitic remarks he made last December. Martin and Jeffries were targets of campaigns to remove them from their teaching positions, following charges by the capitalist politicians and others that they made anti-Semitic remarks and assigned anti-Semitic reading materials in their classes. Martin, for example, assigned *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a book published by the Nation of Islam which asserts extensive involvement of Jews in the African slave trade.

The rally, entitled "Documenting the Black Holocaust," was the latest in a series of events at Howard that have been the subject of widespread media coverage and charges of anti-Semitism.

The previous week the U.S. fascist outfit headed by Lyndon LaRouche had held two meetings on the campus, one of them jointly with the Nation of Islam. There was no public presence of the LaRouchites at the latest rally.

Throughout the rally comparisons were made between the campaign of murder and terror against the Jews in Europe by the Nazis and the barbaric enslavement and continuing racial discrimination against Blacks. The day before the event, Malik Zulu Shabazz, a leader of the student group Unity Nation, the principal sponsor of the rally, visited the Washington museum to the Jewish holocaust along with Muhammad.

"As we boldly walked through the Jewish Holocaust Museum we empathized with their plight, but I have to agree with the statement made by Dr. Khalid Abdul Muhammad that the Black holocaust was a hundred times worse," Shabazz told the crowd.

Referring to editorials appearing in the

big-business media attacking events on campus as anti-Semitic, Shabazz said, "We will never bow down to the white man, to the so-called Jew."

"They are worried that the teachings of Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan have trickled down to the Black college students. We will determine who our leaders are," Shabazz added. "You are attacking these Black men in order to stop the rise of a Black Messiah. Just as you stopped the rise of the first Messiah, Jesus," he charged.

Attacks on Jews, ANC

Khalid Abdul Muhammad explained that while he no longer held any official post in the Nation of Islam no divisions existed between him and the organization's central leader, Farrakhan. At the end of the meeting Muhammad read greetings from Farrakhan.

"But now that you can't use what I say against my leader, I am going to go buck wild on you," shouted Muhammad. "I am going to be like a pit bull in the butts of these Jews, crackers, and these buck dancing Uncle Tom niggers who attacked me." He called out the names of New York assemblyman Major Owens, Congressman Charles Rangel, and Jesse Jackson, then mimicked a shuffle and scratched his head to the laughter of the audience.

"In the Jewish Holocaust Museum they say they lost 6 million, and we question that," Muhammad continued.

"We lost more than 600 million since our enslavement and our holocaust continues to this day. What of the millions who died from the death marches in Africa on their way to the slave ships? The Jews have been liberated from their ghettos but we remain in ghettos all around the world. They took shoes from the Jews but the African slaves were not even allowed shoes. You tell me which holocaust was more brutal, bestial, murderous and bloody," Muhammad retorted.

"They beat Colin Ferguson in prison. I love Colin. Killing all those white people. God sent Colin on that Long Island train," exclaimed Muhammad. He was referring to the shooting spree by Ferguson Dec. 7, 1993 that killed 6 passengers on a train in Long Island, New York. Four of those shot dead were white and two were Asian.

"We can't compromise with the white man in South Africa," stated Muhammad. "I don't respect the election process going on there. We don't owe the white man anything. He should only be given 24 hours to get out of the country."

In a direct reference to the political course of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, Muhammad said, "You don't let a man break in your house, and when you get strong enough to take the house back you want to compromise. And whenever a dispute comes up in the house you want to vote — one person, one vote. That's a fool."

Many news articles, opinion columns, and talk shows have used Muhammad's reactionary statements in an attempt to whip up hysteria of the existence of "Black anti-Semitism." Howard University has come under attack by news commentators and Zionist organizations for allowing Muhammad to speak on the campus.

Washington Post columnist Richard Cohen, for example, implied that Howard should not receive any federal funding. The university's president Franklyn Jenifer told the Post that he has received calls from all across the country and more than 1,000 letters



Khalid Abdul Muhammad (left), outside Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., the day before talk at Howard University. "The Black holocaust is 100 times worse," he said.

protesting the appearances of Muhammad.

About 100 students held a meeting organized by the College of Arts and Sciences faculty to reaffirm the university's commitment to free speech and to disassociate Howard from the views of the speakers at the Black Holocaust rally.

A small group led by Rabbi Avi Weiss attempted to picket the meeting, but campus security took their signs away after a crowd began to heckle them.

The rally has led to stepped up calls for curtailing freedom of speech and democratic rights on the campus. A *Washington Post* editorial called for preventing individuals like Muhammad from using university facilities. Howard University trustee Thaddeus Garrett went further, stating his intent to introduce a resolution calling for closer monitoring of groups that invite speakers to campus.

Sam Manuel is a member of the United Transportation Union in Washington, D.C.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



An intensive, widespread campaign to defend the Ft. Jackson 8 has been going on in this small, usually quiet and very conservative city [of Columbia, South Carolina] which has Ft. Jackson on its outskirts. In the past three weeks there have been four major demonstrations, a petition campaign and support meetings of students and GIs.

High point of the support activity came May 4 when backers of the victimized GIs, largely from the University of South Carolina, joined with striking hospital workers to meet President Nixon at the local airport. About a hundred striking black Charleston hospital workers and their supporters had travelled the 120 miles to Columbia to present their demands to the president. They and the Ft. Jackson 8 supporters exchanged union caps and picket signs and, in effect, joined their protest actions.

Seven who joined the contingent were brutally beaten and arrested by cops for carrying a red banner which the cops said was a "Viet Cong flag." Three of the seven have been charged with assault and battery and have been in jail for four days.

Nixon, of course, did not make himself available to the antiwar contingent. The petition demanding the immediate release of

the Ft. Jackson 8 and signed by over 300 GIs and civilians from Columbia and Ft. Jackson was finally sent, via certified mail, to President Nixon and Gen. Hollingsworth.



1,600 workers, members of the UAW-CIO, shut down the six plants of the Breeze Company, for two days last week in protest against the management's deliberate stalling over wage increases. The Breeze workers, waited patiently for months for the WLB award, which finally granted them small wage increases. But the Company immediately proceeded to appeal the regional WLB ruling. This deliberate company provocation was answered by a shutdown of the six plants, despite all the efforts of the union leaders to have the men docilely submit to the company's latest stall.

By their action, the Breeze workers indicated that they, like millions of others, are fed up with the no-strike pledge and intend to defend themselves from company attacks. But the Breeze workers struck under the illusion that the government would take over and settle things in their favor. This illusion was soon to be dispelled by the spokesman of the government.

One Army officer correctly explained to the workers, "The Army takes only nominal charge, and the workers still are the employees of the present management."

February 1965: The Final Speeches



Speeches from the last three weeks of Malcolm X's life, presenting the still accelerating evolution of his political views. A large part is material previously unavailable, with some in print for the first time. First volume in a chronological series of Malcolm X's speeches and writings. \$17.95

Available from your local Pathfinder bookstore, see directory on page 16 or write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.

A joyous night for human spirit

The sight of millions of workers and youth dancing in the streets of South Africa, celebrating the first-ever democratic elections in that country and the resounding vote for the ANC, gives working people throughout the world cause to rejoice. The vote itself, just by taking place, marks the birth of a South African nation for the first time.

This was not a routine election. With the final ballot cast, the millions of men and women who for decades struggled for the right to a single, nonracial state laid apartheid in its grave once and for all and opened the door to the future. It was, as president-elect Nelson Mandela said, "indeed a joyous night for the human spirit."

The elections themselves and the victory of the African National Congress are two interconnected historic events that are a triumph for humanity.

They are the product of decades of struggle at the cost of tens of thousands of lives of working people in South Africa, led by the ANC, and the efforts by millions the world over who answered the ANC's call to isolate the white-minority regime.

They stand as a shining example of what ordinary working people can accomplish when they act together in struggle.

And they will arouse all those fighting to defend their unions and their livelihood on the land, to end racism and sex discrimination, and to replace the system of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war with a society that puts human needs before profits.

As Mandela explained, the overwhelming vote for the ANC is "a clear mandate for action, to implement a plan to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and guarantee freedom for all South Africans." It is a mandate to

lead the democratic revolution to its completion — to build a truly nonracial, nonsexist society.

The tasks ahead are many. The ANC's demands included a massive public works program to create jobs and to construct hundreds of thousands of badly needed homes, among others.

Under apartheid, millions of Black farmers were driven off their lands. The ANC has put forward an agricultural policy aimed at raising the living standards of the rural producers, providing restitution for those dispossessed by apartheid, and redistributing the land to those who need it.

The ANC's campaign platform also called for guaranteeing workers' right to organize and strike, compulsory schooling for all children, and a rigorous affirmative action program in hiring, housing, and education.

The election results put workers and farmers there in the best position to "reconstruct South Africa in the vision of the Freedom Charter," as Mandela said.

The Afrikaner Resistance Movement and other rightists who opposed the elections have been further isolated; their demand for an apartheid ministratate has been soundly defeated. Despite killing a few dozen people during the elections, these retrograde forces failed miserably in their attempt to stop the forward march of the South African masses.

Of course, the challenges ahead, from putting together a new army and police to land reform and opening the doors to learning and culture for all, are enormous. Young people and toilers around the world should stand shoulder to shoulder with soon-to-be South African president Nelson Mandela and the ANC in the coming battles to climb new mountains on the road to freedom.

Changing Face

Continued from Page 13

worker who understands that the course of the current labor officialdom is gutting union power and leading to a dead end still must make an individual leap in consciousness in order to see the strategic line of march of the proletariat toward power. But even under the impact of today's initial experiences, these leaps can and are being made. Opportunities are being created for the Socialist Workers Party to influence a still small but important layer of the working class and the labor movement, and to recruit to the party the most politically conscious workers. This deepening proletarianization and political education of the party is decisive not only in rising to today's challenges and meeting its pressures, but in preparing for what is coming.⁸

Nearly a decade later, that gap is still very much a political fact of life. But something else needs to be said that is new and more important: The world that has emerged since the 1987 stock market crash has narrowed that gap substantially in the political imagination of millions of working people and youth. It has been closed still more by U.S. imperialism's 1991 war against the people of Iraq. Amid the wartime din of Washington's murderous bombing campaign and ground invasion, and of its patriotic political bombast, the most politically conscious workers and revolutionary-minded youth could hear the opening guns of other wars to come, including wars between nuclear-armed imperialist powers.⁸

As this book goes to press, the war in Bosnia, the first European war in half a century, continues to spread. The rival imperialist powers are being drawn into this carnage more deeply to protect their interests, threatening wider war and providing a truer picture of the Europe of coming decades than most would like to believe.

These economic, social, and political conditions put new challenges before the communist movement. By the opening years of the 1990s, under the impact of the continued retreat of the unions and defeats of workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, the Socialist Workers Party was attracting fewer young people and its average age had risen. Upswings of the capitalist business cycle had been marked by very slow job growth, limiting opportunities for communist workers to get into new industrial union jobs and revitalize their trade union work.

But today as this edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* begins circulating, young workers and students in the United States are tapping new political opportunities to form a nationwide young socialists organization once again. Young people come into revolutionary politics with the energy and the will to fight and with a visceral hatred for the brutality, destructiveness, social injustice, and inhumanity produced by the capitalist system. What they need above all is to become part of a disciplined working-class organization whose cadres, spanning several generations of experience in the class struggle, embody a political tradition — a revolutionary political continuity going back to the founding of the modern communist movement nearly 150 years ago. In a revolutionary workers party they will receive the education, and the political respect as equals, that is denied them everywhere else in bourgeois society.

At the same time that young socialists are launching a new organization in the United States, communist workers are taking advantage of the first significant hiring during an upturn in the business cycle in more than half a decade. A new levy of workers, many of them in their late teens or twenties, are getting jobs in large unionized factories that have not taken on new workers for a long time, and the Socialist Workers Party has the seemingly sudden opportunity to revitalize and reorganize its industrial union fractions. The extent of such a revitalization of the SWP's turn to the industrial unions — the numbers of experienced party cadres involved — will be the single most decisive factor in making it possible for the new layers of youth being attracted to socialism to become integrated in advancing a revolutionary proletarian party.

The convergence of these two opportunities to strengthen the communist movement — each with its own concrete political dynamics, but with the same social roots in the long curve of capitalist development — will be uneven, but the outcome will truly be greater than the sum of its parts. As indicated in the 1979 report on the international character of the turn to industry, worker-bolsheviks always have their eyes on "the young rebels in the working class. They will be decisive for us and for our class in the coming period. That's who we're after."

This new edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* is among the richest lodes to mine for the Marxist continuity these young fighters need and that they have begun to seek.⁹ The book comes at this communist tradition from the particular strategic standpoint summarized in its subtitle: "Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions." As emphasized in the 1979 SWP convention report published here: "Our goal is quite simple: to do everything possible to transform the American unions, as Trotsky explained, into 'instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.' What we do is aimed at advancing toward revolutionary unions as combat organizations of the American working class. In the process of doing this, we'll build the irreplaceable political instrument of our class — a revolutionary party of industrial workers." April 15, 1994

8. See "The Opening Guns of World War III" by Jack Barnes in issue no. 7 of *New International*.

9. Others include the issues of *New International* magazine and its sister publications in French, Spanish, and Swedish, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional*, and *Ny International*, as well as the range of communist books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press.

Support Caterpillar workers

Since ending their five-month strike in April 1992, members of the United Auto Workers have continued to wage a militant fight against Caterpillar Inc.

The workers have refused to accept the company's stepped-up harassment, denial of union rights, speed up, and worsening working conditions, all of which are part of the "final offer" Caterpillar imposed on the union two years ago.

The recent one-day walkout April 26 of more than 3,300 workers at plants in Illinois highlighted once again the fact that the company is up against a united, fighting workforce. This strike came in response to attempts by management to interfere with the rights of a union steward in the Decatur plant. It followed a nationwide three-day strike in November and numerous skirmishes on the shop floor throughout the Caterpillar chain.

The company had hoped that the fighting spirit of the workers would be broken when top union officials ordered them back to work without a contract, ending the bitter 1992 strike. But precisely the opposite has occurred.

"Top management here at Caterpillar has done a lot for unionism and solidarity," one union activist noted, describing the workers' response to mounting company attacks.

"They have forced the membership and locals to come closer together."

The recent upturn in the economy and Caterpillar's announcement of plans to hire several hundred more workers can help strengthen the union in its fight against company-demanded concessions by bringing a levy of new fighters into the plants.

Like the Teamsters who just concluded a successful 24-day strike and steelworkers on the picket line against Allegheny Ludlum, the workers at Caterpillar have shown the fighting capacity of working people in response to mounting attacks by the boss class.

These fights point to the difficult road the capitalists have before them as they seek to gut union rights and lower the standard of living of the working class in order to boost their sagging rate of profit.

Events such as the May 7 "Rally to Defend Workers Rights" in Peoria, Illinois, are an important response to the employers' offensive. They help to keep the pressure on Caterpillar, maintain workers' fighting spirit and unity, and point the way forward for other working people trying to figure out how to confront the bosses' attacks.

Indict and jail N.Y. killer cops!

The residents of Park Hill in Staten Island, New York, have every right to be outraged at the brutal murder of 22-year-old Ernest Sayon by New York police. Youth and working people throughout the city, the United States, and other countries should join them in demanding that the killer cops be indicted and thrown in jail.

With the full backing of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the police department seeks to justify its actions by turning the victim into the criminal. Sayon beat his head against the pavement while resisting arrest, the cops claim. But many witnesses say they saw the police officers beating the young Black man savagely for several minutes after having handcuffed him. Sayon had a record, the argument continues. As if this gives police officers the right to pummel somebody to death. And even if Sayon had committed the wrongdoings he is accused of they are small potatoes compared to the crimes of the cops themselves.

As the recent corruption scandal in the New York City police department reveals, many of these very same cops are getting wealthy off drug deals, "testifying," and other illegal acts. It's a joke that their so-called drug sweeps are a service to working people. Many cops use them to enrich themselves, and do so for years with impunity. Above all, every time the police barge into a housing project, and arrest and beat individuals at will, allegedly to deal with the drug problems, they mete out punishment to working people and trample on democratic rights.

After pummeling Sayon, the cops even ordered ambulance workers on the scene to "stay away," preventing them from providing him with urgently needed medical treatment. In fact, just two weeks earlier, a local Staten Island

resident videotaped a similar cop beating of a handcuffed young man in the identical spot where Sayon was killed.

The brutal cop assault against Sayon and countless other workers is part and parcel of how police operate in capitalist society. Cops do not represent a special force separate from the rest of society, which seeks to ensure everyone abides by the law.

This society is divided into classes — a handful of exploiters who live off the wealth produced by an exploited majority. The primary role of the police under this capitalist system is to protect and serve the rights and property of the billionaire ruling families.

To accomplish this goal, the cops, intimidate and punish youth, workers, and farmers — with special vigor against working people who are Black, Latino, and immigrants. Their simple crime? Belonging to the wrong class, the working class. The cops' purpose is not to simply apprehend suspected wrong-doers and have them get a fair trial to verify their guilt, but to administer as much punishment themselves as they can get away with. And they act with increasing violence as the world economic depression pushes the capitalist families that rule City Hall and the White House to defend their profits and economic system by more brutal means.

But as the case of Rodney King in Los Angeles shows, by putting up a political fight the cops can be pushed back. What's needed to win justice in Staten Island are continued protests demanding that the cops responsible for the death of Sayon be indicted, prosecuted, and jailed. The labor movement should throw its weight behind this important fight and demand: Indict and jail the killer cops now!

Steelworkers protest lockout in northern Minnesota

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers

no other jobs are available. Other mines, which haven't hired in many years, are just starting to hire a few dozen young workers. Unemployment



Militant/Marea Himelgrin

Participants in solidarity rally for locked-out steelworkers in Nashwauk, Minnesota, April 25.

around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Nearly 350 people held a spirited march and rally in Nashwauk, Minnesota, April 25 in solidarity with United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2660. The 614 members of the local have been locked out by National Steel Pellet Co. since September.

Orry Frost, a member of Local 2660, has been part of a team that has been on the road for more than half a year. These unionists have organized protests at National Steel headquarters in Mishawaka, Indiana, and helped pass out weekly updates on the lockout at National Steel's two other U.S. mills — in Detroit Lakes, Michigan, and Granite City, Illinois — which are also organized by the USWA. The company is owned by a Japanese steel concern.

"We've raised enough ruckus," said Frost, "that it gave us the ability to negotiate with National Steel. We're suspending our corporate campaign for 60 days while the union does a feasibility study for an ESOP [Employee Stock Ownership Plan] for us at National. The company has agreed to consider signing a contract with us for 3 million tons of iron ore pellets a year."

Expressing the sentiments of many locked-out miners about prospects for union members buying the mine, Frost said, "I'd rather have a contract. But if this enables us to get our people back to work, we should try it."

Depression conditions on Minnesota's Iron Range mean that virtually

benefits for the locked-out miners, which had expired, have just been extended for 13 weeks.

USWA District Director Dave Foster announced at the rally the kickoff of a fund appeal to the labor movement for the locked-out miners. Donations of several thousand dollars were announced by the presidents of several other Steelworkers locals. A plant-gate collection the day of the rally in Granite City netted more than \$1,300.

A dozen members of USWA Local 9198 from Roseville, Minnesota, came to the rally as did half-a-dozen taconite miners from the Empire Mine on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In January, Empire miners honored a one-day picket by Local 2660 to protest sales of taconite by Empire's owners to National. Other participants in the rally reflected the involvement of members of Local 2660 and the newly formed auxiliary organization "Supporters of American Workers" (SAW) in other labor struggles on the Iron Range.

Nancy Lake and Kay Bodle of SAW explained that they had formed the group six weeks ago. "We've been having meetings," said Lake, "and we've been going out to support all the struggles by workers that we've heard about — from the Greenway school board meeting to a rally this week at the state capital against cuts in workers' compensation."

IBP workers in Iowa vote for concession contract

Workers at the IBP pork plant in Perry, Iowa, members of United

Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149, voted 224 to 167 to accept what the company had called its "last and best" contract offer April 2. IBP had threatened to close the plant for good if the union didn't accept this offer.

The agreement, which runs for five years, includes a wage freeze for the first year, followed by potential rises tied to wage increases at non-IBP pork slaughter plants.

The new contract also calls for increased payments from workers for medical insurance.

This settlement comes after an almost ten-month struggle between the union and the company. Workers rejected two previous concession contract offers.

In January, company officials announced that they were permanently closing the plant on April 3, throwing some workers onto the streets. IBP, which made more than \$90 million in 1993, claimed the Perry plant was losing money.

The company launched an all-out drive in the plant to get workers to vote in favor of the agreement. IBP officials posted the contract wage offer around the packinghouse along with the demand that it be ratified or the plant would close.

The company took groups of workers off the line to meet with them and explain why this contract was the best they could offer and that IBP was serious about closing

the plant if the workers did not approve it.

On the day of the contract vote a local business group that had organized a "Keep IBP in Perry" campaign of signs and stickers in the community, organized buses to take workers from the plant to the Moose lodge where the union meeting and vote was to be held.

The union also agreed to have three "independent observers" — all local businessmen — attend the meeting and to have them be responsible for counting the ballots.

At the meeting, the local negotiating committee explained they "could not recommend a vote in favor of this contract."

One IBP worker who spoke to the press following the vote summed up the feeling of many in the plant when he said, "People aren't voting for the contract. . . . They just wanted to keep their jobs." He continued, "This is like going back to the 1930s when the unions first started."

Michigan teachers protest new antilabor law

Michigan teachers rallied in Lansing April 19 to protest efforts by Gov. John Engler to limit collective bargaining rights and to impose \$250-a-day fines for striking teachers. State laws under the Hutchinson Act of 1947 forbid strikes by public

employees, but this has never been enforced. The current bill passed by the Michigan House of Representatives, prohibits teachers from negotiating work rules, class sizes, duration of school year, and other formerly accepted contract provisions.

On April 20, the Senate voted for the bill by a slim majority of 19 to 18. The law will not take effect until April 1995 because of the close vote. Teachers hope this will provide enough time to organize to repeal this antilabor law. While teachers cannot strike even now, they could walk out in protest of unfair labor practices. Under the new law, they cannot even do this. □

Brewery workers end strike in Netherlands

Workers at Heineken's two main breweries in the Netherlands announced April 28 they will return to work after an eight-day strike. The agreement, which has been accepted by the three labor unions involved, gives workers a one-half of 1 percent pay raise retroactive to January 1, a 1.5 percent increase in 1995, and a one-time bonus of 1 percent later this year.

The contract was signed after the court ruled that the strikers' blockades of the Zouterwoude and Den Bosch plants were illegal.

The Netherlands Union Federation, one of the three unions, had initially rejected the deal. Spokespeople for the union say that while members will return to work, the union will not sign the new agreement and will not cooperate in the company's reorganization plans. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Marea Himelgrin, member of USWA Local 9198 in Roseville, Minnesota; Mike Galati, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa; and Maurice Grady in Detroit.

LETTERS

ANC Youth League

The Global Development Centre held a fund-raiser on March 25 to raise funds to help the African National Congress Youth League with voter education and any other activities that they would see fit.

The fund-raiser was a night of speeches, discussion, music, and dance. Our group drew in approximately one hundred or more people, and together we managed to raise \$579. We sent this money to the ANC Youth League to put towards one of the most historically significant and celebrated changes of the world. We hope that it can help the Youth League with the enormous and costly reforms that will face the ANC after April 27. On April 27, here in Vancouver, we too will shout and dance to the ANC victory in hopes that their vision will affect all people of the world, and someday we will all be able to unite and say good-bye to racism.

Jennifer Horner
Vancouver, British Columbia

prostitution was a very minimal problem, while before 1959 it was the main industry along with gambling. One of the first tasks the revolutionary government tackled was free education and jobs for all, including prostitutes.

We must not forget that Cuba is still a commodity society where all goods and services are bought and sold. With the extreme scarcity of basic goods side by side with the comparative luxury of tourists, it is to be expected that prostitution will increase.

We take it for granted that in a capitalist society sex is a commodity and a source of profit for some. In Cuba it is a symptom of some deterioration of the socialist fabric, which can be reversed when internal and external conditions, like the growth of world revolutionary forces, enable the Cuban socialist revolution to go forward.

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

Nation of Islam

Jon Hillson's letter in the April 4 *Militant* criticized a March 7 *Militant* article entitled "Nation of Islam's Jew-hatred sets off heated debate" because of its limited definition, which he thought could not explain the Nation of Islam's

(NOI) rightist character, especially its anti-Semitism. Hillson failed to see the NOI as a historical rightist Black bourgeois nationalist organization.

Black nationalists' movements and sentiments concluded that Black self-determination or its variant self-reliance was the road forward to liberation for the black masses. The NOI falls into this category. There is a contradiction or dualism in many of these movements because they are made up of or draw different kinds of support from different classes with contradictory and conflicting interests — those young Black youth and workers desiring to fight against the oppressor and those of the nationalism of the bourgeoisie. The lack of any fight helped to drive Malcolm out of the NOI. An examination of Black nationalism trends after the failure of "radical reconstruction" show the potential, limitations, and deviations that Black nationalism can take.

For Malcolm X, Black nationalism meant fighting for Black human rights by any means necessary, connecting the Black struggle with capitalist oppression and others oppressed around the world under imperialism. In this epoch only Malcolm X's perspective would begin to fill the void of a "working class leadership for the Black nationality."

The Black nationalism of the NOI means promoting self-reliance through Black capitalism, blaming Jews and others for hindering Black capitalist development, accepting crime as the main problem plaguing the Black community, echoing anti-gay and anti-woman themes in the name of destroying Black values and the Black family, race baiting through espousing Black people as the chosen or superior people corrupted by the European culture and manipulated by the Jew. Black young persons fed up with oppression unwarily look to the Nation of Islam as a tool to fight oppression; they are lured by the calls for Black identity and race pride. These persons are too often diverted to the NOI's reactionary demagogic ways and programs or get disillusioned in the absence of any progressive nationalist movement.

Seeds of anti-Semitism have historically been implanted in the Muslim movement. Many of the buy Black themes had anti-Semitic rings. Khalid Muhammad's remarks are not any less anti-Semitic, anti-woman, or anti-gay, anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant or race baiting because he is Black and he is a part of the NOI. However the NOI is not the main danger in the capitalist system as is Patrick Buchanan or Ross Perot, the KKK, incipient fascists or skinheads because their origins are not the same, they do not serve the same purpose, and they do not pose the danger. Remember Malcolm's revelations about NOI and KKK contact. It was also reported that the NOI met with the American Nazi Party in the 1960s. Many of the NOI "pull ourselves by the bootstrap-protestant ethic themes" had the same ring of blaming the victim as they do today, mimicking the bourgeois. Marcus Garvey also courted rightist reactionary groups and supported some publicly. The Garvey movement represents still the largest Black movement in history. These two groups had an internal program logic that led them to covet with and exhort rightist reactionary views. Hillson wrongly plants the seeds to equate the NOI with the other rightist forces by disconnecting the NOI from its historic roots and its inclinations.

Ken Morgan
Baltimore, Maryland

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Prostitution in Cuba

The media has been reporting, with barely suppressed glee, that there is prostitution in Cuba and that it is increasing.

What it doesn't say is that for some 30 years of the revolution

New York youth protest killing by cops

BY SIBYL PERKINS

STATEN ISLAND, New York — Friday, April 29, started out as a normal day at the Park Hill housing project here. Though young residents faced daily harassment from local police, they had no idea that this was the last time they would see one of their friends. In front of dozens of witnesses, cops from New York's 120th precinct — brutally and without provocation — beat Ernest Sayon, 22, to death that night.

Witnesses who were at the scene reported that at 5:40 p.m. as the police were arresting another youth, a loud noise that sounded like a firecracker rang through the project. Up to eight cops immediately turned to Sayon, who was nearby, handcuffed him and began to beat him with handguns and walkie-talkies after pulling down his pants. "There were so many cops you couldn't even see what was happening to him," one eyewitness said. "And they call that resisting arrest." Although an ambulance was on hand, police took Sayon to the hospital in a police van where he was pronounced dead at 7:00 p.m.

Sayon's friends, as well as other project residents and members of the community, responded in a matter of minutes after the killing by marching on the 120th precinct. Some 200 residents, most of them in their teens and 20s, came out chanting, "No justice, no peace." During the peaceful dem-

attempted murder and criminal possession of a weapon. But no weapon was found.

Most residents interviewed, however, stated that Sayon's record doesn't justify the actions of the police. "That incident had nothing to do with drugs or crime, they're just throwing that all in to cover it up," said one young protester. "What are we, roaches?" said Maureen Fahnbullah, Sayon's aunt. "You don't handcuff someone and kill them. Everyone tells the same story about what happened. It was in broad daylight."

Two weeks earlier, a local resident videotaped several cops beating and stomping on another young man, who had already been handcuffed, in the same area where Sayon was killed.

Project residents describe the daily harassment they face from police. "Eight to ten police officers walk through here every day," said one young Park Hill resident. You can't even stand in the doorway without being accused of loitering." As he was speaking, several cops could be seen rushing into a project building with sledgehammers. Inez Bailey, another protester, talked about how pervasive the cop br-



Neighbors of Sayon demonstrate just hours after cops killed him.

tality is. "Everyone's scared for their own kid's life," she said.

The events here have opened up a discussion among youth and other residents around what can be done to fight against police brutality and press to convict the killer cops. "There are good cops here, and

there are some nasty cops in Park Hill," one resident said. Another countered, "They're all that way — C.O.P — Criminals on Patrol." Many residents here said the situation has gotten worse since Mayor Giuliani took office. "He's the one who gave [the police] the green light to do what they're doing here," said a young resident. When asked whether he thought having more Black or Latino cops would help he replied, "I don't think so. It was a Black cop who killed [Sayon]."

On April 30, a community meeting was held to decide what to do next. Some 150 people from the Park Hill area, most of whom had been a part of the protests the night before, attended. Participants agreed that more protests and demonstrations should be called until justice is achieved.

Sibyl Perkins is a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee (SYOC) in New York. Eva Braiman, a member of the International Association of Machinists and of SYOC, and Naomi Craine, a national leader of SYOC also contributed to this article.



Ernest Sayon, who was killed by cops.

onstration, cops in riot gear attempted to provoke protesters shouting "Come on niggers, come on," and "Don't you speak English?" Most people who live in the projects are Black. Many are immigrants from Africa.

Fearing more unrest, city authorities have already attempted to diffuse the tension while taking steps to cover up the responsibility of the police officers involved. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani promised a full "probe," urging residents to "remain calm and let the police do their job." Hospital officials have since stated that although they discovered bruises and head lacerations, an autopsy failed to establish the cause and manner of Sayon's death. The cops claim that Sayon fell and hit his head on the sidewalk while resisting arrest.

Reports in the media here have also painted Sayon as the guilty party. New York's *Newsday* quoted police as saying Sayon was a previously arrested troublemaker who had been charged with possession of a controlled substance and resisting arrest. They claimed he fired 20 rounds into a housing project and was charged with

N.Y. police arrested for drug running

BY IKE NAHEM

NEW YORK — In a highly publicized evening visit April 15 to the 30th police precinct in Harlem, New York City police commissioner William Bratton personally oversaw the arrests and collected the badges of the first two cops charged with drug trafficking and other criminal offenses. The charges included protecting and shaking down drug dealers, burglary, theft, perjury, and making false arrests.

Fourteen cops have been arrested and charged with felonies thus far and dozens more indictments and arrests will take place citywide, according to statements by Bratton.

Banner headlines in all the city's dailies followed the initial arrests and revelations, which are continuing. What has so far been revealed amounts to the most significant official exposure of police corruption and venality here since similar revelations by the Knapp Commission in the early 1970s.

As a result, working people in New York have gotten a glimpse of how the police in capitalist society actually functions every day.

The immediate backdrop for the arrests and exposures of the past few weeks is the highly anticipated final report of the Mollen Commission, appointed by former mayor David Dinkins in 1992 to investigate police crimes.

The Mollen Commission was established amid public outrage following the 1992 arrest of Michael Dowd and five other cops. These police officers ran a large-scale drug trafficking and shakedown operation in New York City and surrounding suburbs, out of the East New York section of Brooklyn, a majority Black working-class community, where they were assigned. Dowd, who raked in huge sums of money and lived an openly ostentatious lifestyle, was finally busted in the course of a dope deal outside New York City by Suffolk County cops. The investigation revealed that the police Internal Affairs Department ignored numerous complaints by the public and a handful of fellow cops about Dowd's increasingly blatant criminal activities.

During last fall's graphic, televised hearings, the busted cops told the Mollen panel how they dealt dope, stole, lied, and brutalized civilians while their fellow officers looked the other way. As public pressure mounted following these hearings, city authorities decided to take some steps to salvage the tarnished image of the police department. The district attorney's (DA) offices in Manhattan and Brooklyn, as well as federal prosecutors working with the top police brass, organized a few sting operations to bust some cops that had been operating with impunity for years.

On March 18, three cops from the 30th Precinct were arrested on charges of assault and robbery after the DA's office set up an apartment as a drug den and videotaped the targeted cops breaking in, beating up an undercover agent, stealing cash, and searching for drugs. In the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, a similar operation in the 73rd Precinct led to the busting of a cop ring that specialized in shaking down drug dealers and trading in stolen guns.

In the 30th Precinct, prosecutors targeted a cop who had a record of 17 civilian complaints against him over four years without once being disciplined. Using a neighborhood bodega as a front, cops received payments of up to \$2,000 a week.

Numerous press accounts have shown that standard operating procedure for police drug traffickers is that the same cops who protect and do business with certain drug dealers will arrest rival traffickers, selling confiscated drugs to their favored and established partners in the business.

Working people in overwhelmingly Black neighborhoods, such as Harlem and Brownsville, have years of experience on the receiving end of the billy club and have seen case after case of police gunning down Black and Latino youth.

In Harlem, news of the first wave of cop arrests led many working people to speak out freely. "It's about time they got them," one resident said. "Just because they have that badge, they think they're better." Another pointed out, "This precinct has been taking payoffs for 10 years. Nowhere else in New York City can you buy a gram of

coke for \$23. There are over 1,000 coke spots in this one area."

Top cop Bratton and New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani have worked overtime to control and manage the pace and scope of the scandal. The arrests and other actions, as well as pledges of reform, are meant to soften the impact of the final Mollen Commission report, due to be released at the end of May. A draft of the report with new explosive revelations leaked last week to the *New York Times* underlined this motive.

"New York City police officers often make false arrests, tamper with evidence and commit perjury on the witness stand, according to the draft report of the mayoral commission investigating police corruption," stated an April 22 *Times* article. The leaked report, which is now said to be undergoing "substantial revisions," went on to call police perjury so common that it has its own nickname: "testilying."

FOR FURTHER READING

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in *New International* no. 6

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